FBIS DAILY REPORT

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POLISH DELEGATE ADDRESSES MBFR IN VIENNA

AU030913 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 29 Mar 85 pp 1, 6

[Text] PAP, Vienna -- PAP Correspondent Franciszek Malinowski reports: The 35th round of the Vienna negotiations among 19 states from the Warsaw Pact and NATO on mutual reductions in troops and armaments in central Europe has ended.

The concluding session on Thursday was addressed by Stanislaw Przygodzki, head of the Polish delegation, and by acting head of the U.S. delegation Vladimir Lehovich.

Evaluating the results of the 35th round, S. Przygodzki stressed that its main event was that four socialist countries -- the USSR, the CSSR, the GDR, and the PPR -- presented a new draft of "Basic Decisions of the Accord on the Initial Reduction of the Ground Troops and Armaments of the USSR and the United States in Central Europe and on the Subsequent Pledge Not To Increase the Level of Armed Forces and Armaments in This Region." The draft has created opportunities for making a breakthrough in the negotiations.

The Polish delegate stressed in particular the following virtues of the 14 February proposal submitted by the four socialist states:

-- It makes it possible to rapidly draw up an accord on the initial American and Soviet reductions and on the subsequent pledge not to increase the numerical strength of the troops and the level of the armaments of the remaining direct participants in the negotiations.

-- The proposed sizes of the initial reductions of the American and Soviet troops are fair in view of the unilateral withdrawal of 20,000 Soviet soliders from the GDR and in view of a large increase in the numerical strenth of the U.S. troops in Western Europe.

-- This compromise proposal takes account of the West's position on such important issues as the legal form of reduction pledges and of the subsequent "freezing."

-- The achievement of a partial accord on reductions in Soviet and American troops would create favorable conditions for negotiations on major reductions in the troops and armaments of all direct participants in the negotiations.

-- The implementation of the measures proposed by the socialist countries would help improve the international atmosphere and deepen mutual trust; the military value of these measures would be more than symbolic.

The Polish delegate noted that the socialist countries have replied to all the questions asked by the West in connection with their 14 February initiative and that what is needed now is a constructive and prompt reply from the West.

Jan Hein Van de Mortela, head of the Netherlands delegation, presented the position of the NATO countries. He focused attention on the issues of the resources associated with reductions, on numerical data, and on the so-called geographical factor. His arguments seemed to show that the NATO countries had not taken a meaningful stand at the end of the 35th round on the 14 February initiative put forward by the socialist countries.

The 36th round of negotiations will begin on 23 May 1985.

PREPARATIONS TO PROLONG WARSAW PACT VIEWED

AU271305 Tirana ATA in English 0930 GMT 27 Mar 85

[Text] Tirana, March 27 (ATA) -- The Soviet Union is conducting an intensive diplomatic activity to prepare the terrain for signing a new agreement to prolong the term of the Warsaw Treaty. This topic has been in the center of all the talks held by Gorbachev and the other high ranking Soviet officials with those of the Warsaw Treaty member countries. At the meeting the Soviet Minister of Defence Sokolov had with his Czechoslovak counterpart Vachislav it was also discussed on the coming meeting of the Political-Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty. [sentence as received]

Their discussion on the future of this military bloc shows that there are contributions between the Soviet Union and the countries of Eastern Europe, something which is admitted also by the high officials of these countries. The Soviet social-imperialists try by all manner of means that through recuperation [as received], to ensure the continuity of the Warsaw Treaty as an instrument of oppression and exploitation in their hands.

AIMS OF 'HULLABALOO' OVER GORBACHEV ANALYZED

LD311144 Tirana ATA in English 1000 GMT 31 Mar 85

["Gorbachev in Kremlin: A New Name but an Old Policy" -- ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, March 31 (ATA) -- Under the above title the newspaper ZERI I POPULLIT carries an article which says among others: Over the last three weeks the new Kremlin leader Gorbachev, and the big Soviet propaganda apparatus have tried to create the impression that now the Soviet internal and foreign policy "will undergo important changes" and that it is acquiring "dynamism and a new content". Much noise is being made about "a new style of leadership" and "about a realistic view into the treatment of problems" etc. Gorbachev himself is giving strong assurances to home and foreign public opinion that he would work "for positive developments". One's attention is drawn also by the fact that the press and propaganda of Western capital, is making a great political advertisement of Gorbachev, something it has not done neither for Brezhnev, nor for Andropov and Chernenko.

This is a well known political trick of the bourgeoisie through which it seeks to promote the idea that every new name is tantamount to a new policy. It has its own counterrevolutionary aims and it is applied both by the capitalist bourgeoisie and by the revisionist one. In the well known article "5 Years of Khrushchevism Without Khrushchev", published in the newspaper ZERI I POPUL'IT in 1969 Comrade Enver Hoxha analysed this problem in a scientific way: "Marxism-Leninism teaches us and the long practice has proved that although the policy of imperialist countries is implemented by the people in power, in fact it is not defined by them. It is the social system which gives birth to aggressions, to capitalist oppression and exploitation. This is now things stand also with the Soviet leaders, who are offsprings of and represent the capitalist order which is fully reestablished now in the Soviet Union."

The methods and the tactics that have been and will be adopted by Gorbachev aim precisely at carrying further the Krushchevite revisionist line in politics, ideology, economy, etc. The hullabaloo made about Gorbachev is aimed at achieving some goals. Firstly, it tries to build up some personality for this apparatchik who came from the province and whose greatest merit was his links with Andropov. Thus he is dished out to the working masses in the country as a man with the dimensions of "a great leader".

This is also needed to enchance his values in the bargains for political intrigues of the Soviet Union as superpower with the other superpower the USA, or the other imperialist powers. Secondly by creating illusions about "turns and changes", it is aimed at covering up the hitherto failures of the policy of the Soviet social imperialism, in and outside the country.

The present day situation in the Soviet Union is like that in the capitalist countries after presidential elections when the new president demands from his electors to forget what has not been realised from the past promises and to keep their eyes fixed on new promises. And in this direction Gorbachev has learned from the experience of bourgeois politicians. "The intensive stage of economy, he declares, must acquire the same meaning and arouse the same echo that the country's industrialization did at its time". Through this slogan he calls on the working masses to display their readiness to accept the consequences from the new economic reforms that he intends to implement. Gorbachev is aware that his reforms, which consolidate the capitalist relations in production and capitalist content of production in the Soviet Union will not cause a positive reaction among the working masses. Therefore, with demogagy he evokes the glorious period of the country's socialist industrialization, a magnificent program led by the Bolshevik Party with J.V. Stalin at the head.

In the field of foreign policy, too, Gorbachev wants to carry further the aggressive and hegemonistic policy of the Soviet social imperialism. We see this in Afghanistan where new reinforcements were sent recently to the Soviet occupying forces though Gorbachev made the solemn pledge for a "political solution". We see this in Europe where the Soviet Union seeks to retain the aggressive Warsaw Treaty which is an instrument of war in its hands. In a letter sent to a West German group on March 28 the Soviet leader openly declared that "the Soviet Union will adopt counter measures in regard to armament". With the same consistency Gorbachev carries further the bargains with the United States of America, as a deal between the two superpowers which seek to dominate the world according to their divided spheres of influence.

The Soviet leadership aims at disguising as much as possible its total political and ideological degeneration, to cover up the failure and rottenness of its imperialist, aggressive, counter revolutionary, antimarxist line. It is an attempt the leadership cannot [word indistinct] it. Gorbachev, too, despite the external labels, will do nothing but deepen even further this policy and these failures.

PEOPLE'S ASSEMBLY SENDS MESSAGE TO HUNGARY

AU040947 Tirana ATA in English 0930 GMT 4 April 85

[Text] Tirana, April 4 (ATA) -- The Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania sent the following message of greetings to the Countil of the Presidency of the Hungarian People's Republic.

"On occasion of the National Day, the 40th anniversary of the liberation of Hungary from the Nazi domination, we extend to the Hungarian people the greetings and best wishes for their prosperity and happiness."

DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH GUYANA ESTABLISHED

AU021724 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 1 Apr 85

[Text] Proceeding from the desire to develop the relations between the two countries, the Governments of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and of the Republic of Guyana have agreed to establish diplomatic relations at ambassadorial level.

JOURNAL VIEWS SMALL ENTERPRISES, INNOVATIONS

AU042233 Sofia NOVO VREME in Bulgarian Issue No 3 Signed to Press 1 Feb 85

[Article by Docent Peter Velkov, candidate of economic sciences: "The Small Enterprises and Innovations"]

[Excerpts] The decisions of the BCP National Conference (1984) devoted to the problem of quality stressed the necessity of building small- and medium-sized enterprises (MSP) on a large scale in our country.

Experience accumulated in several other countries reveals that a new type of small enterprise is increasingly developing as a peculiar source of new technical ideas and solutions and as a means of implementing basically new, scientific-technological, as well as organizational-administrative innovations that conform to worldwise standards, and with the help of which we can accomplish a "technological breakthrough," as well as achieve new positions on international markets and master new technologies. Recently, the greatest attention has been devoted to small- and medium-sized enterprises, established with the purpose of obtaining innovations in the production sector or on the market, and which are functioning with the sole purpose of producing new inventions and innovations, or with the purpose of coordinating the activities of different links along the lines of implementation, or which are being used for advisory services at the individual stages of the cycle of introducing innovations. In this respect the experience of the USSR in establishing the Azerbaydzhan production center for the application of science, technology, and advanced experience in the city of Baku represents a certain interest for our country. The same applies to the "Oriont" innovations application organization in the city of Riga, as well as to the experience of the respective Hungarian enterprises (such as "Novex" and the innovation agencies), and to similar enterprises in several developed capitalist countries.

Considerable experience in this respect has been accumulated in the Hungarian People's Republic in building small but flexible enterprises that are quickly adaptable and, on the basis of economic cost accounting, are performing a series of coordinating, mediating, and other functions necessary for the successful implementation of innovations in a certain sphere of activities, or in the technological transfer of given innovations in the industrial, agricultural, and other sectors, in areas near and far. Such enterprises are the "Novex" application organization, established in 1973, and the so-called "innovation agencies," founded in 1979.

The basic task of such an innovation agency is to administer and manage the process of application in its function as a sideline entrepreneur (and frequently as an associate or cooperative partner). The process of application is implemented by numerous and various participants. In this organizational form the Hungarian specialists see one of the complementary links of the innovation-application cycle that was previously missing but that can now combine all components of the process into one. Through practical implementation of this contemporary organizational-stuctural solution, Hungary is trying to accomplish coordination between scientific-research work and production, as well as to create the necessary information infrastructure. The first innovation agency, the "Pannonia" agricultural trust [obedineniye], was created in 1979 as a result of the joint efforts of the Agricultural Sciences University (in the town of Kestzhely) and the "Silver Ear" agricultural cooperative (in the town of Baksa). Only 3 years later as many as 10 such organizations were already functioning in Hungary. (Footnote: P. Velkov in coauthorship with others: "Experience in Financial Innovations in the Hungarian People's Republic" [title rendered in Russian] 1982, page 12).

"Novex" is also one of the small enterprises. (It employs approximately 45 people -- scientific workers, experts, engineers specializing in the application of innovations in production, economists, and others). The enterprise is engaged in the application of innovations and new ideas for cooperation in the development of inventions and license activities. To put it more precisely, this enterprise is involved in the following activities: analysis, evaluation, and selection of new inventions and licenses, of technological processes and other development of scientific-technological application, as well as in the preparation of experimental processing of innovations, worked out on the basis of selected scientific-technological information. The enterprise is involved in the cooperation of respective organs in the distribution of orders along the lines of individual production enterprises for the output of new goods.

"Novex" is working on the basis of economic cost accounting, and in most cases it covers expenditures in connection with developing orders, laboratory tests, and application and processing of innovations, thus also taking over the risk involved in connection with introducing innovations. In implementing innovations on a large scale, the "Novex" enterprise also uses bank credits or the financial means of its own clients on a contract basis. "Novex" also involves intellectual resources on a contract basis, whenever they are in short supply, by hiring scientists, license experts, and engineers with great practical experience for consultative activities, experiments, and the application of innovations under laboratory and production conditions.

ZHIVKOV, COLLEAGUES ATTEND HUNGARIAN RECEPTION

AU032005 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1900 GMT 3 Apr 85

[Text] On the occasion of the 40th anniversary of Hungary's liberation from fascism, Gyula Dobay, ambassador of the Hungarian People's Republic to Bulgaria, gave a reception at the Sofia Embassy residence tonight. Comrade Todor Zhivkov came to express his congratulations on the occasion of Hungary's liberation anniversary. Congratulations were also presented by the Comrades Grisha Filipov, Yordan Yotov, Ognyan Doynov, Petur Mladenov, Stanko Todorov, Todor Bozhinov, Georgi Atanasov, Georgi Yordanov, Grigor Stoichkov, Dimitur Stoyanov, Petur Dyulgerov, Dimitur Stanishev, Stoyan Mikhaylov, Vasil Tsanov, Kiril Zarev and Emil Khristov. Peko Takov, deputy chairman of the State Council, Georgi Karamanev, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, and Yaroslav Radev, deputy chairman of the State Council, were also among those present. Leaders of sociopolitical and public mass organizations, as well as generals and officers of the People's Army and distinguished public figures also attended the reception. Leaders and members of diplomatic missions accredited in Sofia were also present. The reception proceeded in a cordial and friendly atmosphere.

LEADERS ATTEND METHODIUS ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION

AU051832 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 5 Apr 85

[Text] A festive meeting was held in Sofia today to commemorate the 1,100th death anniversary of Methodius, the Slav and Bulgarian scholar. Celebrations on the occasion of this anniversary will proceed under the patronage of Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council. This anniversary is an essential part and continuation of the varied activities connected with the celebrations for the 1,300th anniversary of the Bulgarian state. The ceremony tonight was attended by the Comrades Grisha Filipov, Yordan Yotov, Milko Balev, Petur Mladenov, Stanko Todorov, Georgi Atanasov, Georgi Yordanov, Petur Dyulgerov, Dimitur Stanishev, Stoyan Mikhaylov, and Emil Khristov, as well as leaders of sociopolitical and mass organizations, of creative unions, and cultural institutions.

The festive meeting was opened by Comrade Georgi Yordanov, who gave the floor to Academician Angel Balevski, chairman of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, who read a report on the historical, cultural deeds of Methodius, the great Slav and Bulgarian scholar.

INDIAN PARTY SECRETARY CONCLUDES VISIT, DEPARTS

AU031333 Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 2 Apr 85 p 1

[Text] The 1-week visit to Bulgaria of Shrikant Verma, general secretary of the All-India Committee of the Indian Congress (I) Party, has ended. He visited our country at the invitation of the Fatherland Front National Council.

During his visit the Indian guest was received by Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council; Pencho Kubadinski, chairman of the Fatherland Front National Council and member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo; Petur Tanchev, secretary of the Bulgarian Agrarian National Union and first deputy chairman of the State Council; Georgi Yordanov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, chairman of the Committee for Culture, and Candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo; and by other officials. He was informed on some aspects of the Fatherland Front's activities and on historical and cultural sites in Sofia and Plovdiv.

On 1 April the guest departed. At Sofia Airport he was seen off by Sava Dulbokov, first deputy chairman of the Fatherland Front National Council, and by Georgi Petkov, secretary of the Fatherland Front National Council. Lal Derkim [spelling as published], Indian charge d'affaires in Bulgaria, was also at the airport.

BONEV RETURNS FROM ECONOMIC TALKS WITH CSSR

AU061815 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 6 Apr 85

[Text] On 6 April Comrade Stanish Bonev returned from the CSSR, where he conducted talks on coordinating the two countries' national plans for the period until 1990.

JUGAL SPEAKS AT KOSICE 40TH ANNIVERSARY RALLY

LD042218 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 0910 GMT 4 Apr 85

[Speech by Premier Lubomir Strougal at festive rally in Kosice marking the 40th anniversary of the Kosice Government Program -- live]

[Text] Esteemed comrades, esteemed guests: Many happenings and events take place in the lives of nations and states which are often considered by those of the day and those acting in them as significant from the point of view of social progress, but not all of them can stand up to the merciless evaluation of history. The event which took place precisely here in this East Slovak town 40 years ago is among those which unreservedly withstood the stern test of time and which have found a permanent place on the front pages of the modern history of our nations. On 5 April 1945, in Kosice, the first seat of the new Czechoslovak Government, a document was adopted and announced which became the program of the national and democratic revolution, which became the well-formed conception of the first steps of the building of a new social economic order in our liberated homeland.

The Kosice Government Program could achieve, retain, and confirm its historical importance because it fully corresponded to the life interests of the workers of this country, because it expressed the objective needs of the development of our society. Today we recall this anniversary to again emphasize the value and importance of those events for the whole future development of the life of Czechoslovak people, and so that we can draw valuable lessons, encouragement, and inspiration from them for our future striving and effort.

Allow me right at the beginning to express and convey to you the sincere and comradely greetings of the general secretary of our party, the president of the Republic, Comrade Gustav Husak, one of the cocreators of this historic program, the Kosice Government Program, which was announced in Kosice. [applause]

Everything which preceded the announcement of the Kosice Government Program had its unchangeable logic. It was by no means chance that during its formulation and then its discussion in the whole of the then Czechoslovak political representation, the main role was played by the representatives of the CPCZ headed by the unforgettable Comrade Klement Gottwald. It is not true, as bourgeois historiography and propaganda attempts to claim, that things ended up this way because the representatives of bourgeois and the other noncommunist countries, and the former President Benes himself, completely failed. Times had changed decisively and the conditions and needs of the development of society were also new. The victory of the anti-Hitlerite coalition, where the main brunt of the fight against the fascist enemy was borne by the USSR, was already certain.

The conception and proposals of leadership of the Communist Party, worked out on the basis of a correct analysis of previous development and the given historical conditions, and supported by great theoretical maturity and mastery of strategy, corresponded to these qualitatively new conditions. The CPCZ continued the political line which it formed and creatively developed from the mid-thirties in harmony with the conclusions of the 7th Congress of the Communist International.

Already at that time it was striving for a national front which would, on the basis of extensive unity of the working class and other strata of workers, enable us not only to solve concrete, relevant social problems, but from a perspective viewpoint to link the struggle for democracy with the struggle for socialism.

In this connection, the Communist Party demanded an improvement in the social conditions of workers, the gradual limitation of the power of monopolies, the implementation of extensive democratization of public life, and a consistent solution to the nationalities question, in particular a new and just adjustment of relations between both our nations, the Czechs and Slovaks. And together with this, of course, to consistently align the foreign political orientation of our state, a major part of which was the alliance with the USSR. These were the priorities of policy followed by the Communist Party, its Moscow leadership, during the course of the national liberation struggle, when it was working out the conception of the postwar order of the future liberated republic.

There is no doubt that it is still useful today to once again look back at the whole of the preceding development, at that complicated and deep process of change in national and international life, in the consciousness of wide social classes and strata, in the relationship of class and political forces, changes which were taking place and gradually growing during the Munich period, during the occupation and the whole course of the war and the national liberation struggle of our nations.

Above all, it was quite clear that the policy of the bourgeoisie as the ruling class of the First Republic ended with total collapse. The bourgeois leadership was incapable of solving a single social problem concerning the basic questions of life and the living of the working people, which is the vast majority of the population. It was unable to give people work. It was not capable or willing to justly adjust the relations between nations and nationalities living in Czechoslovakia. And it did not manage to ensure security for the Republic and thus defend its very existence. The bourgeois government accepted the Munich diktat and, supporting itself on its unreliable Western allies, betrayed the most vital interests of our nation and finally led the whole country to catastrophe.

It is therefore quite understandable that these disruptive events and deep shocks that the Czech and Slovak people had to live through had a strong influence on their thinking and consciousness and could not remain without historical consequences in the future. The occupation of our country and war unleashed by Hitler's Germany stirred a wide front of patriotic and progressive Czechs and Slovaks to fight against the regime of the occupiers and colonizers, against hated fascism. In this intrepid struggle for the renewal of national liberty and state independance, Communists joined together with socialists and progressive democrats, workers joined with farm workers and members of the intelligentsia, men, women, and the young.

Today no one tries to deny that it was the CPCZ that, immediately after Munich and especially after 15 March 1939, as the only organized political force, attempted to unite the whole patriotic and antifascist resistance. The fact that Communists were the main part and backbone of the struggle against the hated occupiers and their collaborators in the country, and that they made the greatest sacrifices for a better, more just, and happier present for us all, will also remain a historical truth. We are proud of the fact that Czech and Slovak patriots also took part in the international antifascist struggle on foreign fronts, in particular in the USSR. Our military unit -- present at the birth of which was its legendary commander and later president of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, Army General Comrade Ludvik Svoboda -- fought by the side of its Soviet brothers and went on the path of victory from Buzuluk to Prague.

In the antifascist resistance of the Czechs and Slovaks and within the overall context of World War II, the Slovak national uprising was an act of great historical significance. It was the culmination of the national liberation struggle of the Slovak people and greatest armed action of our nations.

It gained the support of the masses from the widest public and through it the Slovak people decisively distanced themselves from Hitlerite fascism and clericofascism at home, and aligned themselves with the ideals of the power of the people, democracy, freedom, and social progress.

The Communist Party of Slovakia, the main organizer of the uprising, emerged from illegality and became the government party. The names of its leading representatives Karol Smidke, Gustav Husak, Ladislav Novomesky, and with them Jan Sverma and other unforgettable Communists, heroes and patriots, will be forever linked with its revolutionary activity in those dramatic months.

Under the leadership of the Communist Party the political and action unity of the working class was being formed in the fight. The national committees that were forming illegally and the Slovak National Council, as the highest legislative and executive organ, became representatives of a new power, truly of the people, on the liberated territory, and that is how they continued in their revolutionary calling.

The Slovak people expressed themselves in favor of a joint state of Czechs and Slovaks, for a new republic in which their equality, social justice, progressive internal and international policy will be consistently implemented. The Slovak uprising emphasized the orientation toward the USSR and made the idea of alliance and fraternal cooperation with this country the highest value. Here it must be emphasized that it is precisely the experiences of the Slovak national uprising, as the beginning of the national and democratic revolution, which not only confirmed the correctness of the main points of departure of the Moscow leadership of the CPCZ, but made some of these points more precise and developed further.

In February 1945 Comrade Husak discussed them in Moscow with Comrade Klement Gottwald, and shortly afterwards Comrade Husak summarized them in the main report at the conference of the CPSL in Kosice. The antifascist resistance headed by the Communists, the Slovak national uprising, the fight of partisan groups in Slovakia and later in the Czech lands, the May uprising of the Czech people, the armed uprising of the patriots in Prague and other towns as a culmination of national liberation struggle of our people -- those were the milestones of the historic revolutionary struggle of our nations.

If we speak about factors that had a fundamental influence on the gradual change of social consciousness in our lands and helped to clarify and form ideas about the future form of liberated Czechoslovakia, then we must not forget one of the most significant factors. This is the liberating role of the USSR without the military, political and moral help of which the struggle of the Czech and Slovak people could not have been successfully completed. It was simply clear to people that if our republic would in future be truly secure from any threat from the outside, then it must have the support of a reliable friend that never betrayed it in the past, would not betray it in the future, and this was only the USSR. [applause]

The opinions and consciousness of people were thus gradually developing and changing during the course of the war and the liberation struggle. A completely new ratio of class forces in our society was coming into being, as well as a new quality of interests of the working class and the majority of other workers, interests that it was not possible to ignore. Within the Czech and Slovak public the conviction that a return to the pre-Munich order -- with which our nations had such bad experiences -- does not come into consideration, was continually growing.

How was this new situation reflected in the concrete ideas and proposals for the postwar order of liberated Czechoslovakia that were supported by the two main opposing forces, Communists on one side and representatives of the Czech and Slovak bourgeoisie on the other?

The political representatives of those who so ignominiously ended their rule in the first republic continued to base themselves on their narrow class interests. To put it briefly, they wanted the republic to continue from where they themselves had left it in 1938; they wanted to preserve continuity with the pre-Munich regime. But even the bourgeois representatives could not wholly ignore the undeniable facts and new conditions. Proof of this was the very fact itself that they talked with representatives of the Communist Party about these and other questions, with people against whom the pre-Munich governments continually used police truncheons and persecution, the ever-present censorship, trials and prison. These people represented a party that was the only one that existed and did not interrupt its activity during the whole period of occupation. Its leading role in the national liberation struggle was generally accepted. Its authority with the public was undeniable. And that is why it was now simply impossible to govern without it in the new republic.

The bourgeois politicians who spent the period of occupation and war in the West were aware that when they returned home, and as we know they were returning via Moscow, they would not be able to put themselves forward as the only representatives of the whole nation, as they had done in the past. What is more, it was now clear that the far-reaching change that took place here did not represent an isolated island in Europe, but was part of a strong revolutionary movement on the whole continent. In comparison with the policy of right-wing parties the Communists had a completely differing idea about the postwar order. The conception of the CPCZ had been formed by its Moscow leadership headed by Comrade Klement Gottwald, who even by 1943 had discussed the major part of it with President Benes during his visit to Moscow. Here it must be said in the interest of historical truth that Eduard Benes, even though he stood consistently behind his bourgeois democratic conception of the new republic, considered things in a more realistic way than some other Czech and Slovak bourgeois politicians of the day, and he was not a gambler as many of the others were. In contrast with them he did take into consideration the deep changes that had taken place in the world and in the development of the situation at home. He revised or was forced to revise a number of his previous stands under the realistic development of the situation, under pressure of the new reality, and thus he accepted some compromise solutions.

The gradually worked-out conception of the Communist Party was based on the conclusion that with regard to the new motivating forces and the new role of the working people the revolution must bring to power not the bourgoisie, but the working class united with farm workers and other strata of workers. From this principled class stance evolved individual points of the comprehensive proposal of the program of the future government, which the representatives of the CPCZ put forward in March 1945 during closing talks in Moscow and which was accepted by other participants as a basis for talks. These were, however, with regard to their diametrically differing interests and attitudes, very difficult and lengthy. We know that the greatest conflicts took place about the proposed relations between Czechs and Slovaks in the liberated republic. Comrades Gottwald and Husak in particular spoke out decisively against the stubbornly defended concept of so-called Czechoslovakism, and finally a formulation was adopted as proposed by the Slovak National Council. Thus in the interest of historical justice and the securing of the integrity of the joint state, the existence, separate national identity, and equality of the Slovak nation and its national organs. [as heard] Despite all difficulties of the Moscow talks about the postwar order in the Republic, thanks to the joint approach of representatives of Czech and Slovak Communists, it was possible to agree to the basic points of the proposals put forward by the Communist Party with acceptable compromise.

A new CSSR Government founded exactly 40 years ago here in Kosice was thus given a program that was announced the next day here by its chairman, Comrade Zdenek Fierlinger. It contained all the main requirements so that totally new conditions would arise in the liberated CSSR than had existed in the first republic, so that the will of the working class and other workers could be freely expressed, so that results of joint effort would primarily be projected into the satisfied and secured life of those who have earned it most through their honest work. That is why the Kosice Government Program demanded the liquidation of fascist dictatorship and the power of the betraying bourgoisie, and the creation of totally new revolutionary organs of power, such as the national committees and the Slovak national organs.

That is why the Kosice Government Program demanded the punishment of traitors and collaborators and confiscation of their property and, together with this, the consistent purging of public life. That is why the Kosice Government Program demanded that the financial system, banking, key industries, the natural wealth, and energy sources should become the property of all the people and that a land reform should be implemented for them. That is why the Kosice Government Program, despite great opposition from the representatives of the bourgeoisie, demanded a just resolution of the nationalities question, particularly equal relations between Czechs and Slovaks. And that is why the Kosice Government Program demanded that the decisive role of the USSR in the victorious struggle against fascism, its contribution to the liberation of our homeland, and its comprehensive support of Czechoslovak interests should find their expression in the international orientation of the future republic.

The importance of this document was very well characterized by Comrade Gustav Husak, general secretary of the party's Central Committee and president of the CSSR, when he said: The Kosice Government Program has become the tool of deep revolutionary change. Its point of departure was the experience of the people in the antifascist struggle. It expressed their goals. It contained the fundamental tasks of the nearest political and social economic changes, whose fulfillment was unavoidable for further steps forward toward socialism. End quote.

Again we can ask outselves why the representatives of the bourgeoisie, who were certainly not new to politics, or simpletons, were finally forced to agree with such a program.

Each one of its links affected them directly and very deeply. It concerned their political, class, and economic positions. It remains to add to that which has already been said: They could not openly ignore the pressure of the broad popular masses, who simply did not wish to allow a situation in their own state, in their country where they would again be without any say. They could not ignore the fact that there had, in fact, been some revolutionary achievements -- the National Front, the Slovak National Council, the revolutionary national committees which were established and well tested during the national liberation struggle and which fully confirmed their ability and usefulness for the democratic management of public affairs also after the liberation.

And furthermore, these bourgeois politicians lived in the hope that declaration of the program itself did not yet mean its implementation. Each of them knew very well about the unimplemented preelection promises in the pre-Munich republic. All were convinced that implementation of a government program, and in this case the Kosice Government Program, could be effectively slowed down. Some of them hoped to modify it and make it acceptable according to their own image, so to speak. Others reckoned that it was only temporary and that it would collapse itself or with help from the outside -- that is, from the West.

This was the strategy and tactics on the basis of which they joined the communists at the negotiation table. They adopted a program document which was in complete variance with their class interests. And here in Kosice they solemnly pledged that they, together with the others, would fulfill it.

In the liberated republic, all the honest citizens, after the dark years of oppression and suffering, again began breathing deeply and freely and rolled up their sleeves and started to work. And this was more and more disrupted by the practices of the reactionary forces, which still had strong positions in the economy, politics, and the state administration. They tried by all possible means to hinder the building work, to hinder improvement of the situation so that the goal of the communists to win over for the construction of the new life every honest person, each sincere democrat and committed patriot was not achieved.

The daring and brave acts [as heard] of the open and hidden enemies of the people's republic and their political representatives increased as reactionary forces in European and globally started to come together for an anticommunist onslaught. And thus, instead of implementation of the jointly agreed to program, the Czech and Slovak bourgeoisie became obstructionists, causing difficulties and organizing sabotage with the aim of slowing down and finally turning back from the path on which the nation had embarked. We all know how far this all went and why it unavoidably and logically had to end in a decisive confrontation in February 1948, in an attempt to overthrow the people's democratic system and return to the old, outlived order. This last desperate step was unsuccessful.

It was wrecked by the decisive action of the working class, supported by the overwhelming majority of the other working people and led by the skillful tactics of the Gottwald policy of the Communist Party. Victorious February saw total defeat of the domestic reaction and the beginning of consistent implementation of those hopes and visions for a better and more just life for which the heroes of our own resistance and the foreign resistance fought, and about which the numerous previous generations of exploited and oppressed people could only dream.

Esteemed comrades, esteemed guests: Forty years separate us from the announcement of the Kosice Government Program. There are many citizens among us who not only lived through this victorious period of creating and strengthening new social relations, but who took an active part in it with their own honest contribution and effort. At the same time, however, the number of those belonging to younger generations is continually growing. They were born under the new conditions and for them the years before are simply history.

I think that we can say with a clear conscience that overall it has been a successful and meaningful history. It gives a true account of the fervor and selflessness of people who for the first time in the history of our nation themselves decide their present and future. It gives a trughful account of every step on this qualitatively totally new path on which we embarked in conditions which were often exceptionally complicated and difficult, where every success achieved gave us encouragement and where we paid for the experiences gained with our own mistakes.

But what is the most important thing? The past 4 decades bear true witness to the fact that socialism, whose foundations we created and which we now continue to develop and perfect, consistently strives for the best fulfillment of its main, highest, and most humanitarian goal so a man in this country, where he was born and which is his home, can live his life in contentment and happiness, so he can work and be useful in all ways, and so he need not worry about the future of his family and his children. The results of the 40 years to date of our building of socialism are proof of this and concern every area of social life.

The removal of private ownership production relations released unexpected creative forces of the workers and enabled us to put into practice deep democratic and socialist changes in our country. Dynamic development of the forces of production led to a considerable growth in material and cultural living standards and to wide-ranging changes in social consciousness. The workers' standing changed from its foundations. The ruling bourgeoisie of the pre-Munich republic very often, and most often before elections, used the word "the people" ad nauseam, but everyday practice was a completely different matter. The private owners of the means of production, in whose hands the reins of the state also rested, had only one interest -- to squeeze their own capitalist wellbeing from the sweat and blisters of the people, whether they worked in the factory or in the field -- if they had any work at all. And now these people began to work for themselves. They became the source and true holders of all state power because it was the Kosice Program that, for the first time in our history, allowed the people to rise to true power. Later, after Victorious February, the people's power was completely, unequivocally expressed in the constitution of 9 May.

The rights and freedoms of our citizens are not only declared in words here, as was the case before, but also in the whole political system, the National Front uniting political parties, united trade unions, other social organizations, national committees of all levels and all that is a wide foundation allowing workers to actively participate in the formation and realization of policy, in deciding social matters, in public control. Here we must emphasize that the Communist Party and all our society highly values the activity of hundreds of thousands of deputies, representative bodies, and members of various commissions of the national committees. In the same way it values the selfless work of the many thousands of officials in trade unions, youth organizations, and other social organizations united in the National Front.

We know that this is not easy work, that people often carry it out to the detriment of their family and private life, and that it is not always properly appreciated by all of us. It is truly a mass school for the management of state and public affairs. And without this voluntary work we could not achieve the results and today's standards in any area. Socialist democracy and its implementation in the everyday life of our society has always had and will always have the full attention of the leadership of the Communist Party and the state.

Lenin teaches us this. He often emphasized the well-known thought of Marx that the wider and deeper the change taking place in society, the greater the number of people who must help implement this change. The people are, in the true sense of the word, the creators of this change. This thought has lost none of its relevance and is just as pressing today as when it was first uttered. That is why we will continue to perfect the conditions for the further development of socialist democracy and the further strengthening of the influence of the working class and all those who wish to take an active part in public affairs. That is why we will continue to remove the obstacles which still act as a brake here whether they are bureaucracy, insensitive attitudes to people and their needs and worries, or forms of fossilization and inflexibility, which often hides missing professional and especially political qualifications.

Resolution of the nationality question in our country, in particular the relations between Czechs and Slovaks on the basis of the principles of consistent equality and proletarian internationalism, also has a deeply democratic content. In the overall outcome of 40 years it is undoubtedly a matter of primary and fundamental importance. The implementation of Leninist principles on a federal system, which completely proved their worth in the first socialist state of the world, further strengthened our national and state organism, the unity and cooperation of our nations and nationalities.

On the basis of the Kosice Government Program, a rapid development of the whole country took place, a new material foundation was created, the standard of living improved, and the material and cultural wellbeing of the Czechoslovak people also improved, I think there is no need to bring documents and figures to show how personal and social consumption went up in the Czech lands and in Slovakia, how the conditions for everyday work and the life of the people changed in a fundamental, qualitative way. In the same way it is possible to give convincing proof of the dynamic development of education, science, culture, and art, the results of which we are all proud and which have brought our country well-earned admiration and respect.

If this is the case for the whole republic, then it is necessary to recall in particular the postwar development of Slovakia. Great development in industry, agriculture, the whole infrastructure, and the development of new modern fields characterizes the past 40 years of life of the Slovak people and the other nationalities which live here. The Slovak SR is today in every way a developed country with high living standards. There are still a fair number of those who can compare today and past conditions from their own experience. People here did a huge amount of work especially for our joint work, for the whole Czechoslovak SR, and of course thus also for themselves so we could all live well and be satisfied. The East Slovak Region itself with its towns and the regional capital Kosice is clear proof of the changes that life has undergone in this beautiful country.

The equalization of the social economic level of both republics which represented one of the pillars of the program of the policy of the CPCZ, thanks to the socialist system, to the truly fraternal cooperation of the working class and other workers of both our nations, was successfully completed. The equality of Czechs and Slovaks is now in every way an undeniable, irrevocable historical fact.

Comrades, esteemed guests, looking back at the past 40 years we see clear proof that thanks to the tenacious and consistent policy of the Communist Party, the honest work of our people, we have significantly multiplied the material and spiritual wealth of our country, of the whole of our society. In the material and technical base that we inherited with its problems and shortcomings from the pre-Munich republic and which was plundered and pillaged in every way by the Hitlerite occupiers, there were complete changes after the liberation and particularly after Victorious February. The social ownership of the means of production enabled planned management of the rebuilding and development of the national economy, consistent change in its structure to make it in harmony with the objective tendencies of development of the world economy, and at the same time corresponding as well as possible to our domestic conditions and needs. We created new, modern branches of industry, we extended and improved the quality of the scientific and technical foundation. We changed the splintered small agricultural production to a socialist mass production basis and we significantly raised its efficiency.

We are grateful to the wide and fruitful cooperation with socialist countries and above all with the USSR for the fact that this unprecedented and enormously far-reaching process took place in such a historically short time. It was beneficial for us, it is literally irreplaceable for us, it has simply become a vital stabilization factor of our social and economic development. Behind these fundamental changes of the national economy we must above all see all the millions of honest workers, farm workers, members of the intelligentsia, all those who through the work of their hands and heads together built and continue to build their historical work.

Statistics speak in a convincing way. Compared with 1937, today when counted per head of population, the volume of industrial production is 13 times greater and that of agricultural production greater by a full half.

As a result of this, the national income has grown significantly and today its volume has gone up almost six times. Our economic potential has thus grown several times over and is also evenly distributed over the whole territory of the state. We no longer have poor areas where people, not by their own fault, were condemned to live their whole lives in poverty or had to go in search of work to far-off foreign lands. There is also no significant difference between the standard of living in towns and in the country. The results of our building have thus returned to those in particular who have earned them. It is a well-known fact that the standard of living, personal and social consumption, social security, and life certainties in particular, are relatively high in the CSSR. We can boast about millions of new homes, extensive networks of daycare centers and nursery schools, the continually improving health service. The state and society give extensive means for the support of young married couples, for the care of mother and child, for securing a happy old age for our fellor citizens who go to well-deserved retirement.

Socialism is the first social system the optimal development of which is not possible without the conscious, active participation of the working people. This is why our state is interested in ensuring that they enter their working life with a high level of professional qualification and maturity. That is why our society gives such extensive and continually growing means for upbringing, education, culture, science, and art.

We have achieved a great degreee of democratization of education and culture which are today available for everyone and the only limitation is the amount of talent, gift, and interest.

It is completely natural that, as everywhere where something new is being created, the process of building socialism also in the CSSR was linked with a difficult search for the best methods and approaches and it did not manage to avoid mistakes. We speak openly about them and we have always tried to learn from them. But everyone who can and wants to look at things objectively must admit that these partial mishaps and misfortunes cannot distort the overall results of our path to date. These are simply undeniable and these positive results speak for themselves.

Many people are today unaware of many of these changes, no matter how great, the sum of which creates a new quality in our society, and the young generations take them for granted. This is understandable because the majority of our citizens have not themselves experienced either the exploitation of man by man or the cares and worries of the unemployed and their families. But all the material and spiritual values created by our society in 40 years, everything new and progressive which came to be in our Republic, which cheers us all and serves for the benefit of every citizen, cannot either be taken for granted, nor has it been given to us by someone from above. The present state of our society which has even reached a very respectable level in international comparison despite all the complications and difficulties of everyday life, bears witness to the fact that the working class, allied with all the other working people, is gradually fulfilling all the basic goals which it announced as the governing force. In our country, socialism is also proving its justification as the optimal form of the organization of society in today's historical conditions.

This is why the attempt by counterrevolutionary forces in 1968, which wanted to misuse some of the shortcomings of our society, and with the contribution of reactionary foreign circles, strove to overthrow the system in the CSSR, could not and did not succeed. This historical experience will continually remind us how important it is to firmly stand on the positions of Marxism-Leninism, not to ignore the generally valid laws of the building of socialism, and not to cease in their creative application to our conditions. In the whole of the following period we were governed by these principles and we are sure to implement them in the future.

It is a tried and tested policy which has the support of the wide masses of workers. The decisive majority of our people firmly stands on the positions of socialism and approves the goals set out by its leading force, the CPCZ, in its interest, in the interest of the continued development of our society. [applause]

Esteemed comrades, esteemed guests. The past 40 years and that which they brought for the working people and the entire society can be examined from various angles but one can never ignore how we, by our joint efforts, are rebuilding and recreating this country, how each of us, and all of us, have worked, and how we have enriched our Republic and our life through these values.

By the growth in the strength of our own economic potential and its performance, we are also increasing our contribution to the joint effort of all socialist countries to increase the authority and attractiveness of real socialism, because it is still true that the world revolutionary process is most effectively influenced by our economic policy.

At present we are doing all we can do to fulfill honorably the conclusions adopted by the 16th party congress in the socioeconoic sphere, to fulfill the basic goals and tasks of the Seventh 5-Year Plan. From this point of view, the results achieved in the past 4 years and which a week ago were examined by the Federal Assembly, are encouraging. Above all, they give the certainty that the goal set by the congress to preserve and perfect further the living standard of our people will be fulfilled.

Everybody who is interested in the present socioeconomic development in the world knows that such a statement is not obvious in today's world. This is why we have to appreciate even more the contribution brought to this result by our working people, a contribution which was born of their effort and honest work and initiative. Despite all the difficulties and problems, we have been able to ensure the dynamic development of the national economy. This development has benefited from the process of intensification. While making an effort to be as objective as possible, one can say that in the Seventh 5-Year Plan we made the first very important steps. Maybe we made them late but in any case they are a good promise for the future.

The results achieved in the intensification of the national economy are of course not overestimated. We know that the changes in the ways of economizing cannot yet be characterized as a radical turn. We know that our economy is not working according to the comprehensive criteria of intensive development. Far from it. It is necessary to make much more practical effort which must cover both the process of the creation of values and the distribution processes. Then we can speak about a radical turn. The fact that there are a number of shortcomings in the entire reproduction process shows quite clearly its many weak points in planning and management and also shows the still low effectiveness of the economic mechanism in its insufficiently targeted program directions.

The CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and the federal government -- in connection with planning our further economic development -- react to these weak points by publishing a document on the main directions that must be taken to improve planned management. The idea of this decision is to create from the very beginning of the Eighth 5-Year Plan generally more demanding conditions which will inspire and also force more enterprises and working teams toward modern and highly effective economizing and maximum performance. From the preliminary outlines of the basic requirements of the socioeconomic development for the Eighth 5-Year Plan, it is clear that the tasks which will be set by the 17th party congress will be more demanding and complex.

On the whole, it will mean speeding up the process of intensification, a more significant increase in the performance and technical-economic standard and quality of all work. This is both to serve the growth of the sources for the satisfaction of needs of people and of society, and also because we have to start on a course which will lead to a gradual move toward a standard of labor productivity which is being achieved by the most advanced industrial states.

The long-term program of economic, scientific-technological, and social development to the end of this century, which we are working on, not only addresses what will be, but also what should be, what it is necessary for the CSSR to do in order to advance further on the international scale of the socioeconomic level of advanced countries.

Soviet Communists always stress the great task of the program -- to ensure for their country the achievement of a world standard of social labor productivity. And what about us? We, of course, have to follow the same path. This program goal also has to be part of our own effort, or we will seriously offend the common internationalist mission of socialism and the communist and workers' movement.

The above-mentioned demanding program goal has to assume a quite concrete form in each enterprise, in each institution, in each institute, in each leading link, and in each working team. It has to be reflected quite clearly and more strongly in the reduction of consumption per unit of production as a whole. It has to be reflected by a higher degree of utilization of basic funds and of our whole economic potential. Above all, the closest possible link has to be achieved between science and technology in all spheres of the economy, for a broader and more effective penetration of progressive technology and of scientific-technical and organizational knowledge into our economy.

We all know well that we urgently need the quality of products to improve faster, for the innovation cycle and production flexibility to correspond to the requirements of both domestic and foreign markets to be more dynamic than it has been so far. This concrete form of effort for the growth of social labor productivity, for the transition of our economy toward the road of intensive development and development in its entire complexity, is of course demanding both by its contents and also by its forms and style of managerial work. It requires from each of us not only a high level of discipline, order, and personal responsibility but also the initiative, imagination, courage, brain, and heart of the entire working team. In this respect we are still lacking a lot, because there is still enough inconsistency, irresponsibility and sloppiness around. And yet, what is at stake is our needs, our republic, and our society.

Let us openly admit that the level of satisfaction of many of these needs is below our present possibilities. We have, so to speak, more than the present amount. It seems that many people -- and this is true above all for the managerial sphere -- are not aware that each shortcoming, on the domestic market, in services of all kinds, in each type of work and activity, in foreign exchange, casts a shadow over our entire results. Such shadows still exist and thus it happens that even small shortcomings overshadow our great successes and reduce our feeling of happiness. No one will deny or can deny the fact that we invest considerable means in various spheres of our social life, in housing construction, in the development of road and transport networks, in services, health services, education and culture, and despite this people and things do not always function as they should.

In this connection one can only recall the fitting metaphor of Karel Capek. He wrote once that in a country where envelopes do not stick and string breaks life is somewhat difficult, full of little mishaps and irritants and trifles. Man, as Capek says, is deprived daily of trust and patience. Yes, these are only trifles but the world would be better if all envelopes did stick. It would not be better for the envelopes but for the feeling of trust and respect. So much for the prewar Capek.

You surely understand that I am not concerned about Capek's envelopes or the fact that the same problems existed also in the previous generation. I would only like you to be aware of the fact that the feeling of respect, the reliability of people and things belongs to the feeling of national pride and living certainties. Thus, the moral-political side of the matter is important. The sense of responsibility belongs to each of us because no one can be excluded.

In improving planning and management we must stress the above issue. In stressing and emphasizing this we must find and use not only moral-political, but also material criteria. The process of improving management work, as well as the entire system is a process of seeking the most efficient means and mechanisms. As such, it requires boldness and courage. Without it, the birth of a serious creative idea or a creative deed is unthinkable. Of course, the habitual paths are more comfortable. The process of search, however, is a conflict. That is why there are people who, in the role of some sort of questioning officers, raise the finger in a didactical and warning manner and, swearing by principles, kill every new progressive idea.

Certainly, the process of transition of the national economy along the path of intensive development requires, in comparison with the present fixed stereotypes, new, creative thinking, new ways of looking at tasks and problems connected with them. I would say that it requires reevaluation, while respecting all the principles of socialism, of our present views and concepts which may be so deep that we cannot even imagine this for the time being. Above all, however, it requires an understanding of what we are talking about, of what we are fighting for. And because in this struggle we must set out quite concrete and comprehensible aims, we must reject the attempts of some people to belittle this effort by labelling, by accusations of pragmatism. A label does not have the value of concrete argument.

Therefore, we must and will reassert that the essence of our work must be the ability to deeply analyze the solution of the basic problems of our development, to react to and seek answers to the causes of our weaknesses, and thus to achieve optimum results. After all, we are not alone in the effort to move the national economy along the path of intensive development, to rebuild the forms and methods of economy. Similar problems are being solved by the USSR and the other socialist countries. Thus, we have the possibility of depending on their experiences and knowledge. Multilateral cooperation, relations of trust, and mutual help have created the necessary prerequisites for this. I want to voice the conviction that the tasks in store for us in the coming years will be honorably fulfilled in the cause of socialism, for the benefit of our people, for the benefit of our beautiful homeland, the CSSR. [applause]

Comrades, esteemed guests, the day-to-day work of our people and its struggle for further progress, and the day-to-day life in this country are not isolated from the events and situation in the surrounding world. The CSSR is a part of this. It does not want and cannot isolate itself from this and, therefore, necessarily, we see that it has an influence upon us. We would wish that this class-divided world would complicate our lives as little as possible, that it would not distract our attention from peaceful constructive work. Unfortunately, this is not usually the case. And the past few years have brought forth new evidence to this effect.

The CSSR with its allies in the Warsaw Pact, was subjected to yet another test of its firmness when some Western countries, especially the United States, tried to turn back the wheels of history. Despite the good experience of the seventies when, particularly in Europe and on the initiative of the USSR, the atmosphere of trust and relaxation, so needed by all, was being implemented, all of a sudden we witnessed a demonstration of the would-be new policy of force, confrontation, interference, state terrorism, and even acts of open aggression, with the aim of altering the strategic military balance in the world. The arms race spiral began to whirl at full speed. In Western Europe, the U.S. medium-range missiles were beginning to be deployed, along with what are clearly first-strike weapons. We could not tolerate this obvious disturbance of the balance, this attempt to make us weaker and more vulnerable. That is why, together with the USSR and the other socialist states, we adopted the necessary countermeasures so as to safeguard the security of our frontiers, the safety of the frontiers of the socialist community.

History has imprinted on our national conscience many bitter experiences. This part of central Europe has been for over 1,000 years the object of aggressive expansionist plans, as well as invasions and barbaric devastation, when many times life itself and our very national existence were at stake. And it was, first of all, the Western border, the frontier territory of conflicting Germanic and Slavonic elements, from which the threat most often emanated. Therefore, it is no wonder that, particularly after the experiences with Hitlerite Germany, we are so sensitive to all that is happening west of our border, that we listen to the voices on the open nature of the so-called German question with extreme mistrust and apprehensions and, above all, to all the manifestations of revanchism which are particularly fashionable in the FRG.

There is no need to analyze the truth of history being studied by children at school today: the truth about the politics of Henlein's party, which prided itself on belonging to a Hitlerite Nazi Party, and for which nine-tenths of the German population living on our territory voted in the last election of pre-Munich Czechoslovakia. This party approved of and supported the policy resulting in Czechoslovakia's devastation and the 6-year enslavement of our peoples. That is why, as a just act of history, the allies decided in Potsdam on the resettlement of the German population. This, no doubt, was not easy, and it was a very harrowing decision for many who were affected by it.

We can understand that from a human point of view. However, it was one of the logical consequences of the World War II, which was caused by Hitlerite Germany and during which fascism imposed immeasurable hardship and suffering on the peoples of Europe, including the Germans themselves. It was thus a just historical decision which, stemming from historical continuity, secured the stable postwar frontiers of the CSSR and also contributed its share towards peaceful development all across the continent. That is why every attempt to revive revanchism, to put into question the postwar arrangement of Europe, to constantly maintain the image of Germany in the frontiers of 1937 is not only foolish but extremely dangerous. It is an attack against all that the Old World has attained in the past 4 decades of peaceful coexistence, and against all the ideals underlying the UN Charter and the Helsinki Final Act. And it also is a threat to the good-neighborly relations confirmed in the series of agreements the FRG has concluded with the USSR, the PPR, the GDR, and the CSSR.

In all the famous places where the CSSR state was founded and where we are now standing, one has to say in a loud voice to all of those who did not learn the lesson: Munich, gentlemen, will never be repeated. [applause] To put it simply, no aggressor will penetrate our western border. Put a stop to your wishful thinking once and for all.

At the same time, I should like to reemphasize that our intentions continue to be peaceful; our goal is to have good-neighborly relations and cooperation with the FRG and other Western countries. That is why we are present, through words and actions, at all the important international talks which strive for the sacred goal of peace and cooperation among peoples, why we strive for disarmament, particularly in the nuclear and space spheres, and why we want to remove war forever from the history of mankind. That is why we support the peace proposals of the leading representatives of the USSR. That is why we have recently welcomed the mutual talks between the USSR and the U.S. in Geneva, whose results, if there is also sincere willingness on the part of the U.S. partner, could substantially improve the present situation. The world has no choice: The alternative of peace, coexistence, and cooperation is the only sensible way to avoid nuclear catastrophy. It is no longer possible to stockpile weapons and to build other weapons above the planet. Mankind needs these misused and literally wasted means somewhere else: in the struggle for food, and against illnesses, backwardness, poverty.

When our nations chose socialism, they were at the same time choosing peace. And for 4 decades they have enjoyed peace, thanks to the alliance with the USSR, our most loyal friend, without which we cannot imagine our present or future existence at all, and thanks to our alliance with the fraternal countries, united in the defensive alliance of the Warsaw Pact, which we shall soon be extending and which will soon celebrate its 30th anniversary. These are our certainties in the currently so often uncertain world around us. And this is also why we look with full trust, together with our Soviet comrades and other socialist states, towards the future. [applause]

Esteemed comrades, esteemed guests! The Kosice Government Program, as a document that was a precursor of our present socialist system in its importance, has rightly become one of the cornerstones of our modern history. The Communist Party has asserted its consistent implementation in a sharp class struggle with the forces of the Old World, which in vain attempted to slow down or wreck the new social and economic situation for which the time and conditions were already ripe. We are proud that, through what we have created on this new historical path, we are fulfilling the sacred and still living heritage of the national liberation struggle of our people, heroes of this struggle who, unfortunately, did not see the liberation. We have kept alive all the best and most progressive that was in the history of our people and our nations. We look with respect upon the work created by the previous generation of working people and the material and spiritual values which they left us and which we continue to develop for the benefit of our entire society. As sincere patriots we are proud of our socialist country, for its dynamic state, but we do not forget the progressive traditions from our past which we respect and which are an inseparable part of the spirit of our nations and the social awareness.

We stand firmly on the soil of our homeland. We know that we get nothing for free, and we are aware of the responsibility for the further fate of this society, the future of which is only in our hands. We have our certainties on which we reply: There is the socialist system itself, above all, which fully provides all the basic values of human existence for the benefit of the working man; and there is also the knowledge that we can rely in every respect on friends and the most loyal allies -- the great USSR and other socialist countries with which we are jointly helping to pave the way for historical progress. [applause] And finally, there are also our working people, who, gathered around the working class, united in the National Front, led by the Communist Party, continue to be the main driving force of the progressive social movement and revolutionary changes. This is why we look towards the future with optimism and conviction that the great and demanding goals which we set ourselves under the leadership of the CPCZ we shall fulfill successfully in the interests of all our people, and in the interests of the further prosperity of our beautiful country, the CSSR. [applause]

Ends Visit to Kosice

LD042331 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1400 GMT 4 Apr 85

[Text] The delegation of the CPCZ Central Committee, the Central Committee of the CSSR National Front, and the federal government headed by Comrade Lubomir Strougal left Kosice by air this afternoon. Seeing off the delegation at the airport were representatives of party and state organs of the Slovak Socialist Republic, the East Slovak Region, and the city of Kosice.

SEMINAR MARKS 30TH WARSAW PACT ANNIVERSARY

AU051243 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 3 Apr 85 p 1

["(ST)" - signed report: "A Reliable Safeguard of Peace and Socialism"]

[Text] Prague -- A nationwide seminar marking the 30th anniversary of the founding of the Warsaw Pact was organized by the CPCZ Central Committee Agitation and Propaganda Department in Prague yesterday. After the opening words of Vasil Bejda, head of a CPCZ Central Committee department, reports were delivered by Jindrich Polednik, secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, and Colonel General Milan Vaclavik, CSSR minister of national defense. Vladimir Blechta and Otto Cmolik, heads of CPCZ Central Committee departments, and Lieutenant General Jaroslav Klicha, chief of the Main Political Administration of the Czechoslovak People's Army, [CSLA] were also present.

The seminar took place at a time when we are preparing to celebrate the 40th anniversary of the liberation of our homeland and when we recall the traditions of unbreakable friendship between Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union, the people of the two countries, and their Armed Forces. This friendship developed and hardened in the jointly fought battles against fascism and was sealed with jointly shed blood. After the liberation of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet Army, these traditions continued to develop in the spirit of Gottwald's slogan "With the USSR forever." The present firm comradeship-in-arms of the soldiers of the Warsaw Pact armies and their responsible fulfillment of tasks in the defense of socialism and peace follow the traditions of unbreakable friendship and cooperation with the USSR and its Army.

The 40th anniversary of the culmination of the Czechoslovak people's struggle for national liberation and the liberation of our homeland by the Soviet Army, as well as the 30th anniversary of the Warsaw Pact's founding, prompt our army units to develop political and work activity and all our Army members to display initiative. The anniversaries of 1985 are marked by further intensification of the patriotic and internationalist education of our army members. The party meetings in our army units at the beginning of the year and the annual meetings of youth union organizations furnished evidence of the CSLA members' attitude toward and dedication to the Communist Party and the people of our country and their pride in their homeland's glorious traditions and socialist present. Above all, they convincingly confirmed their resolution not to relent in their endeavor to fulfill the challenging tasks of the training year and to develop cooperation, alliance, and combat comradeship with members of all Warsaw Pact armies, but, above all, with the Soviet Army and its members from the Central Group of Soviet Troops in the CSSR.

The seminar, which was attended by lecturers and propagandists from the entire CSSR and by political workers from formations, units, and other segments of the CSLA, was aimed at fulfilling these tasks in our Army, at asserting the party's military policy, and at strengthening friendship and alliance with all countries of the Warsaw Pact defense community. In their reports, Comrades Jindrich Polednik and Milan Vaclavik recalled the historic inevitability of the Warsaw Pact's founding and its crucial role in maintaining peace on the European Continent, which already lasted 40 years. They emphasized its role today at a time when the United States and some of its NATO allies evidently prepare for aggression against socialism, which is the purpose of their every step they take in the political, military, and economic spheres.

Polednik Speech

AU061601 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 3 Apr 85 p 3

["From the speech by Jindrich Polednik," secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, at the national seminar on the 30th anniversary of the Warsaw Pact in Prague on 2 April]

[Text] The befriended socialist countries, together with the progressive and democratic forces of the world, will soon be marking the anniversary of an important event. Thirty years ago, on 14 May 1955, representatives of the USSR, Bulgaria, the CSSR, Hungary, the GDR, the PPR, Romania, and at that time also Albania, signed the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance in Warsaw, laying the foundation for the defense union of the fraternal socialist states -- the Warsaw Pact. As we know, Albania did not take part in the organization after 1962, and officially withdrew in September 1968.

Right from the very beginning, the Warsaw Pact's mission was to reliably serve the national and international interests of its member-states. Its existence is inseparably linked with the strengthening of unity and cohesion of the socialist countries, with efforts aimed at safeguarding peace and security in Europe and throughout the world.

Since its founding, the Warsaw Pact, as a union of the socialist countries, has been pursuing exclusively defensive aims. It has never threatened anyone. It is the result of the Leninist ideas for collective defense of the socialist achievements.

The establishment of the Warsaw Pact also started a new stage in developing cooperation among the socialist countries. It laid the contractual foundation for their collective cooperation in the vitally important sphere of international relations. The countries united in the Warsaw Pact place their unshakable unity and decisive strength face to face with the forces of imperialism. They are elaborating and implementing a peace-loving foreign policy.

The signing of the Warsaw Pact was the answer to the hostile policy of NATO vis-a-vis the socialist countries and the FRG's incorporation in its structure.

The defeat of Hitlerite fascism and Japanese imperialism enabled several European and Asian countries to embark on the path of profound political, economic, and social changes. The historical results of this was that socialism transcended the borders of one country. A world socialist system began to take shape, a system which has become the main driving force of the revolutionary process, the mainstay of peace and social progress.

From the beginning its formation, reinforcement, and development encountered hostility and resistance from imperialism. In their class hatred of socialism, Western reactionary circles began preparing for a new war. They employed all possible means to achieve this -- military pressure, economic blockades, and ideological subversion; they did not even shy away from trying to use nuclear blackmail.

Less than 4 years after 4 April 1949, the Western powers concluded the NATO agreement in Washington. The military-political bloc founded had no historical precedent. It united all main imperialist states of that time, with the exception of the defeated German and Japanese imperialists. In the postwar years the world public's antagonism to them was so strong that they were not yet able to incorporate them in the common pact. Although the profound differences in the mutual relations of the imperialist countries did not disappear after the formation of the block, they were subordinated to the common class interests of the struggle against socialism and other progressive forces.

Since its founding, NATO took the path of aggressive, subversive actions against the USSR and the other socialist countries. It started constructing new military bases along its borders. At that time the military-industrial potential of West Germany also began its renewal. The establishment of a West German state, the FRG, in September 1949 and the orientation toward utilizing its "military share" in the so-called defense of the West were only the logical continuation of the unification of reactionary forces against the USSR and socialism.

It is understandable that in this situation the socialist countries could not passively watch the military preparations of the West. They drew the NATO member-states' attention to the dangerous nature of their activity, and in the first half of the fifties they took many concrete steps aimed at settling current problems. Contrary to the bloc policy of the imperialist states, they suggested creating a system of collective security in Europe, a system that would be based on the participation of all European states.

However, the NATO states kept on rejecting these proposals and initiatives. On the contrary, they strove to strengthen NATO. In Autumn 1954 they signed a series of documents, the so-called Paris Accords. The essence of these that the FRG joined NATO and was remilitarized, although still with certain restrictions. In documents, this step was officially substantiated by the necessity to "strengthen the security of the North Atlantic region." In reality, however, they had already begun to realize their anti-Soviet and antisocialist plans.

The socialist states again issued warnings, pointing out the dangerous consequences of the Paris Accords, above all that they would lead to a deepening of the division of Germany and Europe in general. However, the West remained deaf to these voices.

If imperialist propaganda today tries -- in connection with the anniversaries of the Yalta and Potsdam conferences -- to blame the USSR for the division of Europe and calls for eliminating this division, it is nothing but plain hypocrisy. Facts convincingly show who was working to divide Europe, who is responsible for it. No one will succeed in concealing that this was the fault of the anti-Soviet and anticommunist policy of imperialism.

In December 1954, the socialist states had to declare that should the agreements about West Germany joining NATO and remilitarizing be ratified, the socialist countries would be forced to join forces to guarantee their own security and defense capability.

The West ignored this declaration. When at the beginning of May 1955 the aforementioned accords went into effect, the inevitable signing of the Warsaw Pact followed.

Thus the establishment of the Warsaw Pact was connected with the political and military situation in Europe in the mid-fifties by admitting the FRG into NATO, the Western powers grossly violated the allied agreement on the postwar order in Europe. Ten years after the defeat of Hitlerite fascism the FRG, the continuer of German imperialist traditions became a member of a military-political grouping against the socialist countries, above all against the USSR. The incorporation of the FRG into NATO accelerated the restoration of its military potential. It has become a substantial support for militarist forces.

As the result of this, a new military-political situation came into being in Europe. It was obvious that the system of bilateral agreements, which the socialist countries then possessed, was not sufficient to guarantee their security. It was necessary for the socialist countries to form a common military-political force against the imperialist forces, united through NATO.

The founding of the Warsaw Pact was the direct response to the threat to the socialist countries' security. After CEMA, the Warsaw Pact has become the second joint organization of the socialist countries, an instrumental part of the world socialist system. The entire future development of world socialism is integrally connected with its activity. The decisions, political practice, and defense measures of the Warsaw Pact completely and fully reflect the process of the strengthening of the unity and cohesion of the socialist countries.

Its political organs also play an important role in the activity of the Warsaw Pact. In that respect, the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact, consisting of the highest party and state representatives, has an exceptional role. At each session, the most urgent problems connected with safeguarding peace and security in Europe and the world are resolved. In recent years the committees of foreign affairs and defense ministers have also been fulfilling important tasks in implementing the conclusions of the Political Consultative Committee sessions.

For 30 years the Warsaw Pact has firmly guaranteed socialism and has been an effective instrument for maintaining world peace. By their resolute actions, the Warsaw Pact states have more than once thwarted imperialist attempts to drag nations into new conflicts.

The Warsaw Pact member-states decisively contribute to maintaining security and peace in Europe. Thanks to their efforts, several important treaties and agreements were signed in the seventies, which contributed to the relaxation of international tension and provided broad opportunities for developing mutually advantageous cooperation among countries with different social systems.

On the Warsaw Pact states' initiative, and thanks to the energetic activity of the international communist and workers movement, the CSCE was convoked in Helsinki. This has become the milestone in reinforcing security and developing cooperation in Europe.

It is understandable that the Warsaw Pact's activity is not limited to Europe alone, because events in other parts of the world also influence the atmosphere and relations among the states on our continent and vice versa. Section 3 of the text of the treaty refers to this situation. It contains the obligation that the contracting parties will consult "on all important international issues concerning their common interests...." Accordingly, the member-countries oppose all acts of imperialist aggression, actively support national liberation struggles, and are advocates of freedom and independence for the nations of Indochina, the Middle East, Africa, and Latin America.

With the establishment of the Warsaw Pact a qualitatively new factor has come into being in international life -- a military-political organization. It has determined noble goals for itself, it proposes and pledges to abstain from using force or threats of force in international relations, settle international conflicts peacefully, strive for effective measures aimed at general reduction of armaments, strive for a ban on nuclear, hydrogen, and all other types of mass destruction weapons, and to help create a system of collective security in Europe. When comparing the texts of the Warsaw Pact and NATO, one can see that NATO's does not contain any such peace proposal or pledge.

The foreign policy of the Warsaw Pact member-states is determined by their socialist, social, and state system, by the awareness of responsibility for the fate of socialism and the world revolutionary process. The essence of this policy is Lenin's idea that peace and socialism are indivisible. Therefore the socialist countries are untiringly fighting for contentious issues to be solved peacefully, the assertion of the principles of peaceful coexistence among states with different social systems, disarmament, the elimination of military confrontation and the threat of nuclear war.

The postwar development convincingly documents that a close connection exists between the common defense of the achievements of socialism and peace in Europe and in the world. By the fact that the countries of the socialist community safeguard their security, they also safeguard what is the most important thing for all nations -- general peace and security. The military defense of the socialist community constitutes an integral part of the class struggle against imperialism, against attempts to solve the historical conflict between capitalist and socialism by war.

The defensive strength of the Warsaw Pact member-states rests on the advantages of the socialist social system, its economic, scientific-technological, and natural potential, its own moral and political unity, and the strength and the preparedness of its Armed Forces. In the past 3 decades the Warsaw Pact has become a mighty, comprehensively developed and cohesive organization, without which none of the more important problems of international life can be solved.

Today, the Warsaw Pact organization is a well tuned mechanism of the mutual political and defense coordination of the states of which it consists. In their multilateral defensive military-political union the common endeavor of the fraternal countries has multiplied the strength of its participants and the entire socialist community.

At the 16th CPCZ Congress, Comrade Gustav Husak expressed the relationship of the CSSR toward the Warsaw Pact in this way:

"The Warsaw Pact fulfills an uninterchangeable role in the common endeavor of the socialist countries to ensure the peaceful future of mankind. We will continue to contribute to the perfection of its agencies' activity, to the further deepening of the coordination of the foreign policy of the socialist states, as well as to our common military-political union reliably safeguarding the achievement of our nations."

The USSR and the other socialist states have always been principled opponents of dividing the world into military blocs, they have proposed more than once to the western countries a simultaneous dissolution of NATO and the Warsaw Pact. However, the NATO states have never accepted the proposals to dissolve the two blocs. On the contrary, they tenaciously continue to strengthen NATO, increase military expenditures, expand their military presence in other parts of the world, and feverishly build nuclear missiles. Thus it is obvious that as long as the aggressive NATO military pact exists, the socialist countries will be forced to react to it with a coordinated peaceful foreign policy and by raising their combat preparedness.

The Warsaw Pact member-countries also propose that the two military-political blocs -- NATO and the Warsaw Pact -- do not extend their activity to new regions -- Asia, Africa, Latin America. In 1982, for example, at the Moscow session of foreign affairs ministers, they stated that they had no intention of extending the sphere of their bloc's activity and that they expected the same from the NATO states. They reaffirmed this position at the Political Consultative Committee session in Prague in January 1983 and called on NATO members to refrain from extending its bloc's activity into any other part of the world.

In assessing the current international situation, we can only note that the situation remains very complex and dangerous. This is a consequence of the policy of confrontation conducted by the most reactionary imperialist and militarist circles, especially in the United States. These circles are tenaciously banking on military strength, striving to achieve military strategic superiority over the USSR and the socialist world.

In 4 years of tenure, the Reagan government has increased military expenditures $100 billion. The United States has begun deploying Pershing II first-strike nuclear missiles.

"Space, space, space!" Reagan shouts to the world, and the representatives of the U.S. military-industrial complex are obsessed with the same thing. They are responsible for the fact that preparations for transferring the feverish arms buildup to outer space are in full swing in the United States today.

Following the deployment of American first-strike nuclear missiles in the FRG, Great Britain, Italy, and today even in Belgium, the situation in Europe has become even more explosive. That has required the adoption of corresponding common defensive measures by the USSR and the other socialist countries. The proclamations casting doubt on the postwar arrangement in Europe, enshrined in the Yalta and Potsdam Accords, have further aggravated the situation on the European Continent. The "openness of the German question" is again being posed, and "German unification" is being proclaimed as the objective on the part of West German revanchism. Anti-Czechoslovak organizations have stepped up their activities, and the demands of the Sudeten German Landsmannschaft have increased. On the other hand, we register with satisfaction the voices of officials and movements in the FRG that respect the postwar realities and promote peace and understanding.

The reports about the situation developing in Japan, which has been increasing its military expenditure and escalating military tendencies, are also alarming. A dangerous Washington-Tokyo-Seoul axis is beginning to form at U.S. instigation.

Developments thus far show that imperialism has no intention of reconciling itself to the existing situation in the world, to the growing influence of the socialist countries. It is important, therefore, to strengthen the unity of the socialist community and deepen their all-round coordination and cooperation.

It is necessary to assert a real peaceful alternative vis-a-vis the imperialist policy. This alternative is contained in the proposals and initiatives originating in the 26th CPSU Congress, in the declaration of the highest Soviet representatives, the joint proposals of the Warsaw Pact member-states, particularly in the January 1983 Prague Political Declaration, the declaration of the meeting of the highest party and state representatives of the seven socialist countries held in Moscow in June 1983, and of last year's CEMA economic summit. This alternative also arises from the recent Moscow meeting of Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev with the heads of the party and state delegations of the Warsaw Pact member-states.

The CPCZ, the National Front, the socialist state, and the Czechoslovak people regard the continuation and expansion of the CPSU's peace program to be a reliable and highly effective path to the solution of the most urgent problems of today's international life. It also fully corresponds to the vital interests of our nations.

The alliance with the USSR which has always been the unshakable foundation and the most reliable course of the foreign policy of Socialist Czechoslovakia, was again enshrined in the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance between the CSSR and the USSR, whose 15th anniversary we mark next month. As Comrade Gustav Husak, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary and president of the Republic, stressed in his New Year's message: "In comprehensive cooperation with the USSR and the other socialist countries, we will continue the struggle to avert the threat of war, for disarmament, especially nuclear disarmament, for a peaceful solution of international problems on the principles of equality and equal security, and to return international relations to the path of detente and constructive cooperation."

We sincerely welcomed the fact that, thanks to Soviet initiative, talks have begun in Geneva between the USSR and the United States on a whole range of issues concerning space and nuclear weapons.

We support Soviet initiatives pursuing the strengthening of trust and security in the world, to which the pledge by all nuclear powers not to be the first to use nuclear weapons -- just as the USSR has done -- would make a considerable contribution. Further proposals for freezing and reducing military expenditures also correspond to this objective, as does the proposal of the Warsaw Pact's member-states to withdraw chemical weapons from Europe, respect the existing nuclear-free zones in various parts of the world, and establish nuclear-free zones.

We are taking an active part in the work of the United Nations, as well as in other negotiations, such as the Stockholm Conference on Confidence-Building Measures and Security and Disarmament in Europe, the Vienna negotiations on the reduction of armed forces and armament in central Europe, or the Geneva disarmament conference.

The high degree of international activity and the current prestige of our Republic is attested to also by the fact that at present the CSSR is a member of 60 intergovernmental and 1,250 nongovernmental organizations, and has diplomatic relations with 137 states.

The unrest in various parts of the world does not contribute to peace and international security. Especially in Central America, where Washington, after occupying defenseless Grenada, threatens other states in this area that do not want to be subordinated to its policy of dictat. Nicaragua has recently become the target of American attacks and an undeclared war is being waged against it. The U.S. interference in the internal development of El Salvador continues, as do the threats to sovereign socialist Cuba.

Owing to the aggressive policy of Israel, which has again been exacerbating tension in the past weeks, the situation in the Middle East remains explosive and dangerous. However, it is also true that events in this region are not taking the course envisaged by Washington.

We follow with concern the continuation of the Iraqi-Iranian conflict, which has flared up again, bringing enormous material damage and loss of life to both sides, and gravely complicating the situation in the Persian Gulf region.

Tension also persists in Southeast Asia. It is being incited, above all, by the attempts of imperialism, hegemonism, and local bourgeois-feudal reactionaries to break up the unity of the countries of Indochina and to lead them astray, away from the path of building socialism.

Regarding tension in southern Africa, we unequivocally view as its cause the policy of South African regime, the tightening of its policy of racism and apartheid, and its endeavor to settle accounts with the struggle for national liberation in southern Africa, to destabilize the situation in the progressive countries in this part of Africa, and to reverse the anti-imperialist development in the region.

The year in which we recall the jubilee of the Warsaw Pact's founding is the year of the 40th anniversary of victory over German fascism and Japanese militarism, the year of the 40th anniversary of the culmination of the Czechoslovak people's struggle for national liberation and the liberation of our homeland by the Soviet Army.

Although we objectively acknowledge the contribution of all other participants in the anti-Hitler coalition to the final victory, it remains a lasting historical fact that it was the Soviet Union that shouldered the heaviest burden of the war and also made the greatest material sacrifices, and sacrifices in human lives, for its successful conclusion.

Our people will never forget that it was the USSR and its heroic Red Army that not only brought us our national liberation from the fascist yoke, but saved our nations from physical destruction. The more than 140,000 Soviet fighters who sacrificed their lives to liberate Czechoslovakia will remain forever engraved in our minds and hearts.

It also remains a historical fact that our people never became reconciled to the Nazi yoke and contributed their share to the defeat of fascism. The Slovak national uprising and the May uprising of the Czech people became culminating points in our struggle for national liberation. Owing to their greatness and heroism, they are ineradicably inscribed in the history of our nations.

One of the most important historical lessons of the preceding decades is that it is necessary to fight a war before it breaks out. The experience of history teaches us that the cohesion, coordination, and energetic activity of all peace-loving and antiwar forces of the world against the aggressive imperialist policy of world domination is necessary to defend peace.

Vaclavik Speech

AU061501 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 3 Apr 85 p 3

["From the Speech by Comrade Milan Vaclavik," Colonel General of the Czechoslovak People's Army and CSSR minister of national defense, at the national seminar on the 30th anniversary of the Warsaw Pact in Prague on 2 April: "Reliable Safeguard of Peace"]

[Text] Throughout its existence, the Warsaw Pact has been, and is, successfully fulfilling its historic mission -- to be a firm shield of socialism, an invincible obstacle to the aggressive endeavors of imperialism, and the main guarantee of European and world peace. As the founding member of the Warsaw Pact, the CSSR was and is its firm link, and the Czechoslovak People's Army is actively contributing to the fulfillment of the pact's defense mission.

The establishment of the Warsaw Pact meant a resolute response to the escalating reactionary effort of imperialist states to reverse the progressive social development in Europe and the world. It documented the unity of the countries of the socialist community and their ability to unify their political and military forces for defense against any and all aggression.

In appraising the role of the Warsaw Pact, certain facts are of decisive significance from the military-political view. First is the agreement that the pact member-states will confer in every instance of an armed attack threatening any one of them, and that they will grant each other mutual all-round support and assistance, including military assistance. From this point of view the establishment of the Defense Ministers' Committee, the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces, and its other bodies was a significant step.

The adopted measures have emphatically consolidated the defense of the socialist countries and created a firm foundation for working out a common strategic doctrine, the defensive nature of which is given by the very substance of socialism.

The defense of socialism in the era of transition from capitalism to socialism is an exacting and long-term task that becomes increasingly complicated when the use of nuclear weapons is a possibility. The communist and workers parties of the countries of the socialist community proceed in ensuring this task from the Leninist doctrine on the defense of the socialist fatherland, which they are developing further. In their military policy they respect the fact that during current international development, the significance of the socialist countries' defense of socialism is increasing; the influence of the sicentific-technological revolution on the organization and build-up of armed forces in the socialist countries is growing; and, in particular, one must not permit the imperialist states to acquire military supremacy.

Our own Communist Party, too, has proclaimed its active approach to these conclusions at its 16th congress, when Comrade Gustav Husak, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary and CSSR president, said: "...in the interest of preserving peace and favorable conditions for building the socialist society, we will do everything -- in close alliance with the USSR and the other states of the socialist community -- that is in our power to consolidate the security of the socialist community, so that the aggressive imperialist forces may not reverse the present military-strategic equilibrium."

The CSSR has common borders with the FRG, where the largest military grouping of NATO in Europe is concentrated. Our nations can look back on bitter historical experience with German militarism, and with the ignominous Munich agreement, which heralded the elimination of Czechoslovak state independence. That is why we cannot overlook the fact that the voices of revanchists have been resounding in the FRG for almost the entire postwar period and that open doubts have been cast upon the results of World War II and the political reality established in Europe after the war as the result of the defeat of fascism.

Like other socialist states, the CSSR has no prerequisites for ensuring its defense by its own means alone. This conclusion follows from the realistic appraisal of the distribution of class forces in the world, from the existence of the class-hostile coalition of imperialist states, and from such factors as scientific-technological progress, the size of the population and strategic position with regard to the potential enemy, the impact and effect of modern arms and the cost of acquiring them, the forms and methods of conducting an armed conflict, and so on. Both the reality of the present world and the historical experience acquired by our nations prove that the CSSR's security can be reliably guaranteed only in alliance with the USSR and the other socialist countries, only by our membership in the Warsaw Pact.

Thus the defensive military-political alliance of the socialist states is an objective necessity of the times: It is the implementation of the basic international principles of building and defending socialism. One can defend oneself, and defend oneself successfully, against the coalition of imperialist states only by the joint effort of the entire socialist community.

But it is not merely an issue of joint armed forces fighting in a war. In the first place we are concerned with ensuring a reliable defense of socialism and its peacetime achievements. That is why we are striving to coordinate the foreign policy of socialist states; to integrate the national economies from the view of ensuring the defense ability of the entire socialist community; to deepen the development of science and technology; to integrate arms and combat technology; to build armed forces according to Leninist principles; and to perfect the collaboration of individual armies and their constant preparedness to jointly fulfill the defense tasks.

The reactionary substance of the current policy of imperialism is reflected in the military-strategic concept of "direct confrontation," a concept that is the most concentrated expression of American strategy, a concept that, apart from the use of political and economic pressure and the conduct of a psychological war, regards the threat of force or possible use of armed forces as the most important and, according to the situation, the only means of achieving its political goals. This policy is specifically expressed in the efforts to acquire a military-strategic supremacy over the USSR and its allies, to fan the hotbeds of international tension, and to comprehensively prepare for a war against the socialist countries.

The United States regards NATO, which subordinates its military policy to American interests, as the main tool for achieving these goals.

The basic starting point of NATO's "flexible response" military-strategic concept is the acquisition and maintenance of supremacy in all spheres of so-called coalition deterrence. These include strategic nuclear offensive forces, battlefield nuclear forces in Europe, and conventional forces.

For this reason the modernization of existing strategic guided missiles and the development and production of new ones, as well as nuclear submarines armed with nuclear weapons and strategic bombers, are continuing intensively.

In the view of NATO, the effectiveness of a possible utilization of the third sphere of "deterrence", namely conventional forces, does not grow in proportion to the growth of the possibilities of the preceding two spheres, that is, strategic and battlefield nuclear forces. This view is accepted and supported primarily by the American Administration, which regards the ability of NATO's Armed Forces to conduct conventional war in Europe both successfully and on a long-term basis as one of the important roads for preventing a direct attack on U.S. territory in a potential armed conflict with the socialist countries. And the military-industrial complex sees here yet another opportunity for amassing horrendous profits from the production of new kinds of conventional arms.

That is why the United States and NATO have recently been oriented toward establishing the best possible organizational and material conditions for successfully conducting a conventional war. However, this does not mean that they are giving up the idea of being the first to use nuclear, chemical, or other mass destruction arms.

All three spheres of "coalition deterrence" are to be complemented as soon as possible by antimissile and antisatellite means. The research and development was made possible by President Reagan's Directive No 119 of 6 January 1984. The new arms systems deployed in space and on earth should be capable of destroying Soviet guided missiles at a safe distance from U.S. territory, and of ensuring its invincibility to a high degree. Despite the various pseudo-defensive names, the new antimissile and antisatellite systems should mainly establish -- according to the ideas of the leading circles in the American Government and in the U.S. Armed Forces -- conditions for delivering with impunity the first mass nuclear strike against the USSR and the other countries of the socialist community.

In support and defense of its military policy, the United States and NATO are conducting ideological subversion, a psychological war, the content of which can be compared only to the period of "cold war" at the beginning of the fifties.

The ideological subversion and psychological war in the military sphere have particularly intensified in the last few years. Their aim is to prove to the population of the socialist countries the allegedly peace-loving nature of NATO members. The escalating war preparations of the pact are explained by the need for defense against a dreamt-up "socialist aggressiveness" and the fabricated "Soviet military threat." The false propaganda, the distorted data, and the lies of their arguments, are all meant to spread pacifism and illusions about the policy and intentions of world imperialism among the citizens and members of the armed forces of socialist countries, and, above all, they are meant to disrupt their morale, preparedness, and will to defend their fatherland and the socialist community.

It is from this view that they also attack the policy of our party day after day. All the measures for ensuring the country's defense ability are like a thorn in the side of our class enemy. The same applies to the Leninist principles on which the Czechoslovak People's Army is built, and particularly to the party's leading role, to our alliance with the USSR and the other Warsaw Pact member-states, and to the brotherhood-in-arms of the Czechoslovak People's Army with their armies.

During the 30 years of the Warsaw Pact's existence, its member-countries -- with the USSR at their head -- frustrated time and again, by their firm stand and resolute actions, the attempts made by the United States and NATO to disrupt the military-strategic equilibrium, to weaken the socialist countries politically and economically, to brake the process of democratic and revolutionary changes in the developing states, and to again enthrone imperialist hegemony over the whole world.

Under the conditions of intensive development of the means of armed struggle, the deepening and expansion of military-technological cooperation between the member-states and Warsaw Pact Armed Forces are of extraordinary significance. The coordination of work in science and research, in design and planning, is being carried out. The cooperation in the defense industry continues, with the aim of providing the fraternal armies with modern combat technology, weapons systems, and reconnaissance systems.

However, the combat strength of the fraternal armies does not lie in the powerful and highly effective military technology alone. Their main strength lies, and will continue to lie, in the people who handle this technology. During the period of building socialism and communism, a new generation of highly qualified military cadres has grown up in the armies of the Warsaw Pact member-states -- cadres capable of skillfully resolving the important issues of the current army structure and troop training, of commanding and directing the troops under the complicated conditions of contemporary combat.

In ensuring the international defense of socialism, a decisive role is played by the USSR's Leninist foreign policy and by its powerful economic, scientific-technological, and military potential. A decisive contribution to the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces is being made by the Soviet Armed Forces, which are equipped with the latest technology, have the most experienced cadres, and are the basic support of the defense alliance of socialist countries.

Not only the 30-year history of the Warsaw Pact, but also the entire era that began with the Great October Socialist Revolution testifies that the USSR's all-round strength is and remains the main safeguard of peace, as well as the decisive obstacle in the path toward realization of the aggressive plans harbored by the imperialist policy. The USSR and its Armed Forces are contributing to the greatest extent to making the Warsaw Pact a firm guarantee of the security of the socialist community and the safeguard of peace in Europe and the world. That is also why we, too, share in ensuring the collective defense of the socialist countries and their sovereignty, in ensuring peace and international security.

It is no coincidence that in the critical years 1968-69 the right-wing forces primarily attacked our belonging to the fraternal family of socialist states and the basic Leninist principles of defending and building the socialist army. That is also why the efforts of the Communist Party after the victory over right-wing and counter-revolutionary forces were focused and concentrated on renewing these principles. Currently the Czechoslovak People's Army honorably fulfills its international duties; it has become a worthy partner of the armies of fraternal Warsaw Pact countries and our soldiers are class brothers-in-arms of the members of the other countries.

Despite the successes achieved in building the Czechoslovak People's Army, we will continue to implement and enforce the Leninist principles of building up the Army. We regard these principles as indispensable in scientifically guiding it and enhancing its combat strength. We see in this the means for achieving further successes in combat and political training and stepping up the combat preparedness and readiness of the Czechoslovak People's Army. We regard this as the road to accomplishing the binding task with which the Army was charged by the 16th CPCZ Congress: to build our Army as an inseparable part and component of the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces, as a highly modern army infinitely devoted to the party and the people and capable of successfully protecting peace and the achievements of socialism together with the Soviet Army and the armies of the other Warsaw Pact states.

[Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 3 April, carries on page 3 a 2,000-word version of Minister Vaclavik's speech which adds the following paragraphs:

["The 40th anniversary of the culmination of the Czechoslovak people's national liberation struggle and of the liberation of our fatherland by the Soviet Army, and the 30th anniversary of the establishment of the Warsaw Pact are being used by us to develop political and work activity, and the initiative of army members. The challenge of the Dukla Tank Unit, decorated with the Order of the Red Star, to fulfill the decisive task of the training year only with excellent and good marks was answered by the absolute majority of units, formations, schools, and institutions of the Czechoslovak People's Army.

["We are also making use of this year's anniversaries in order to further intensify the patriotic and international education of the members of our Army, shape their devotion to the COmmunist Party and the people of our fatherland, deepen their pride in its glorious combat and revolutionary traditions and its socialist present, and further consolidate their friendship, alliance, cooperation, and combat collaboration with the members of all armies of the Warsaw Pact member-states, above all, with the Soviet Army and particularly with the members of the Central Group of Soviet Forces in Czechoslovakia.

In this spirit we are also orienting the performance of the members of our Army at this year's May celebrations and at the military parades in Prague and in Bratislava, as well as in the Czechoslovak Spartacus Games 1985. It is our aim to further consolidate the unity of the Army and the people, and to raise the responsibility and resolve of all army members to strengthen and defend their fatherland and socialism in international unity with the armies of the Warsaw Pact.

"The CSSR and its people's Army will remain a firm link and inseparable component of the Warsaw Pact; they will continue to increase their active contribution to the fulfillment of all defense tasks and measures. We are bound to do this by the 30 years of common building and defenses of socialism and peace, by the duty to ensure the peaceful life of our people, and to accomplish our common plans of building socialism and communism also in the coming years."

PRACE CONDEMNS REVANCHISM IN FRG GOVERNMENT

LD051256 Prague CTK in English 1043 GMT 5 Apr 85

[Text] Prague April 5 (CTK) -- The Czech trade union daily PRACE said today that there are forces in the West German Government coalition which have much in common with revenge-seeking groups in the country.

The daily said these forces share with the leaders of revenge-seeking groups the opposition to the results of the Second World War. They cannot put up with the existence of the first peace-loving and socially just state in German history -- the GDR and reject the conclusions of the Yalta and Potsdam conferences. They claim that the "German question" is "open" and that "the German Reich continues to exist within the 1937 borders" etc. "The territorial claims which the Silesian Landsmannschaft has been raising against Poland in the course of its existence run counter not only to valid international agreements but also to the official proclaimed policy of the FRG Government. All the more surprising is therefore the intention of Chancellor Helmut Kohl to attend a gathering of this Landsmannchaft, [no quotation mark as received] the paper said.

The hopes of those who think that results of World War II can be revised have been revived in the shadow of new U.S. aggressive missiles. In contrast to the majority of West Germans who reject U.S. missiles, revanchist groups are their ardent supporters. U.S. imperialist circles and the NATO leadership try to use these forces in fighting against the peace movement, fully involve them in the campaign of distorting the truth about the course and results of World War II. Raising territorial claims and the theory of revenge are intended to foment hostile moods towards the socialist countries, PRACE said.

DISSIDENT ARRESTED FOR RESTAURANT COMPLAINT

AU041152 Paris AFP in English 1145 GMT 4 Apr 85

[Text] Prague, April 4 (AFP) -- A Czechoslovak dissident, Petr Cibulka, has been arrested for "insulting Communists" in a restaurant incident here, according to friends. In the incident, which occurred on March 28, he called for the complaints book when he discovered that the restaurant was not selling a low-cost meal for factory workers for 8.50 crowns (1.20 dollars), as it must do by law, the sources said. Their cheapest meal was 10 crowns. He went to the kitchen to find the little-used complaints book when one of the staff asked him: "How much longer are you going to insult Communists?" She then called the police, the sources said. Mr. Cibulka, a 35-year-old worker, signed Charter 77, the manifesto of Czechoslovak dissidents, and has been jailed three times since 1978 for two years, one year and 10 months respectively for various political activities.

40TH ANNIVERSARY OF LIBERATION COMMEMORATED

Foreign Liberators Honored

LD022357 Budapest MTI in English 1729 GMT 2 Apr 85

[Text] Budapest, April 2 (MTI) -- On the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the liberation of Hungary, wreaths were laid at the monuments and tombs of heroes and soldiers who died for the liberation of the people of Hungary.

In the Solymar military cemetery homage was paid to the soldiers of Australia, France, Canada, Poland, British and New Zealand who died in the liberation of Hungary during World War 2. After the national anthems were played, wreaths were laid by Imre Biro and Mrs. Geza Banati, members of the Hungarian Presidential Council, on behalf of the Presidential Council, by Istvan Hetenyi, minister of finance, Laszlo Medve, minister of health, and Ferenc Esztergalyos, deputy foreign minister, on behalf of the Council of Ministers.

Wreaths were laid by Philip Griffiths, charge d'affaires of the Embassy of New Zealand, Theodore Jean Arcand, Canadian ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary, and Colonel Loren Henry Reynolds, Canadian military attache, Jerzy Zielinski, Polish ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary, Lieutenant General Zbigniew Ohanowicz, Polish military and air attache, and Tadeusz Piwinski, counsellor of the Polish Embassy and head of the Consular Department, Hubert Dubois, French ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary, Lieutenant Colonel Alain Lamballe, French military attache, Peter William Unwin, British ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary, and Lieutenant Colonel Alan P. Cowie, British defence military attache and Wing Commander John David Davis, British air attache, and John Robert Kelso, Australian ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary.

Representatives of the Hungarian People's Army and the Pest County Council also laid wreaths.

At the end of the ceremony the Hungarian national anthem was played.

Wreaths were laid at the monument of U.S. soldiers at Budaorsi Ut. After the U.S. national anthem, wreaths were laid by Imre Biro and Mrs Geza Banati on behalf of the Hungarian Presidential Council, by Istvan Hetenyi, Laszlo Medve and Ferenc Esztergalyos, on behalf of the Council of Ministers. On behalf of the U.S. Embassy, Nicolas Salgo, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary, Colonel Karl May, defence and military attache, and Colonel William May, air attache, laid wreaths.

Then representatives of the Hungarian People's Army and the municipal and district councils laid wreaths. At the end of the ceremony the Hungarian national anthem was played.

Kadar Meets USSR's Kuznetsov

LD021753 Budapest MTI in English 1704 GMT 2 Apr 84

[Text] Budapest, April 2 (MTI) -- Janos Kadar, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, and Pal Losonczi, president of the Presidential Council, met on Tuesday Vasiliy Kuznetsov, candidate member of the Political Committee of the CPSU CC and first vice-chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union, who had arrived in Budapest to attend celebrations on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the liberation of Hungary.

The sides held warm, friendly talks on the successfully developing relations between the two parties and countries, and their four-decade development.

Leaders Meet Bloc Delegations

LD021959 Budapest MTI in English 1750 GMT 2 Apr 85

[Text] Budapest, April 2 (MTI) -- Janos Kadar, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, Pal Losonczi, president of the Hungarian Presidential Council, and Gyorgy Lazar, chairman of the Council of Ministers, members of the HSWP Political Committee, received, in the parliament building on Tuesday, the heads of the delegations which had arrived in Hungary on the 40th anniversary of the liberation of this country: Vasiliy Kuznetsov, candidate member of the Political Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union CC and first vice-chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union, Milko Balev, member of the Political Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Part CC and secretary of the Central Committee, Josef Korcak, member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and prime minister of the Czech Socialist Republic, Miljan Radovic, member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, Kazimierz Barcikowski, member of the Political Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party and secretary of the Central Committee, Werner Felfe, member of the Political Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and secretary of the Central Committee, and Gheorghe Radulescu, member of the Executive Political Committee of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party and vice-president of the State Council.

The cordial and friendly meeting was also attended by Matyas Szuros, secretary of the HSWP Central Committee, and Foreign Minister Peter Varkonyi, member of the Central Committee.

Kadar Meets LCY's Radovic

LD022251 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2204 GMT 2 Apr 85

[Text] Budapest, April 2 (TANJUG) -- Relations between Yugoslavia and Hungary are developing successfully, noted Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party (HSWP) General Secretary Janos Kadar and League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) Presidency member Miljan Radovic during a meeting here today.

Radovic is heading a Yugoslav delegation to the celebration of the 40th anniversary of Hungary's liberation. He expressed Yugoslavia's readiness to further promote relations with Hungary to mutual benefit.

Kadar Meets RCP's Radulescu

AU022014 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1900 GMT 2 Apr 85

[Text] Cordial greetings and best wishes for personal health and happiness and for success in building the developed socialist society in the Hungarian People's Republic were conveyed to MSZMP General Secretary Janos Kadar on behalf of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the SR of Romania. Warm congratulations were also extended to him on the 40th anniversary of Hungary's liberation from fascist domination, and the conviction was expressed that the good relations between Romania and Hungary will continue to develop at all levels to the benefit of both peoples.

Expressing thanks for the greetings, Comrade Janos Kadar asked that Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu be conveyed -- on his own behalf and on behalf of the party-state leadership of the Hungarian People's Republic -- warm and friendly greetings and best wishes for health and success in building a comprehensively developed socialist society in Romania. He also expressed the desire to further expand bilateral ties in the interests of the two countries and peoples.

The exchange of messages was occasioned by the MSZMP general secretary's reception of Comrade Gheorghe Radulescu, member of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee and vice president of the State Council, along with other heads of party-state delegations participating in festivities marking the 40th anniversary of Hungary's liberation from fascist domination.

Marothy Addresses Ceremony

LD021752 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 2 Apr 85

[Excerpt] Outstanding individuals received the highest state honors in the parliament building. Julia Tardos reports:

[Tardos] Hundreds of people gathered here in the Cupola Hall in parliament to receive in a few minutes high state decorations and the country's recognition. State prizes, Kossuth prizes and the titles of Outstanding Artist and Merited Artist will be awarded to those who have done a great deal for Hungary in economic, artistic, and scientific fields. The celebrated people will now be greeted by Laszlo Marothy, Politburo member and deputy prime minister:

[Marothy] On the 40th anniversary of the liberation of our people and the regaining of our national independence, the presentation of state and Kossuth prizes and the titles of Outstanding and Merited Artists is also part of the festivities of the date. Our socialist order considers labor to be its foundation. In the persons of those decorated we pay our respects to the material and spiritual builders of our country. On behalf of the MSZMP Central Committee and on behalf of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic. I greet the people honored here.

Only continuous renewal can guarantee permanent equilibrium for society and secure progress. It is impossible for a country to remain at the same level, let alone rise to new heights, if that country and society does not keep pace with the accelerating times, allows the challenges of the age to go unanswered, and does not use its material and intellectual resources to join the world contest waged for the future of humanity, on a course most suited to itself.

The fundamental role is played, naturally, by economic and productive activity, where progress is primarily a function of raising the technological standard and of a faster and more wide-ranging application of scientific achievements. Today, it is not another oil price explosion that is the main threat to realization of our plans. The main threat will come if we cannot place the achievements of research at the disposal of production, if we are incapable of always adopting and applying standards of the time in world scientific breakthroughs, which we require, and if we cannot designate what tasks Hungarian scientific and technical development should concentrate on.

One of the aims of our endeavors aimed at developing socialist democracy is that we should stimulate and provide the opportunity for the assertion and confrontation of all creative thoughts and efforts. Open and democratic debates of specialists should decide which scientific achievement and development concept is the most beneficial.

The role and importance of culture and the arts is increasing by no smaller a proportion in the entire process of social construction. Our socialist society demands, by necessity, artistic and literary values capable of illustrating our age and life authentically and with high artistic standards. The essence of our society cannot become complete without the creation and wide-ranging application of such intellectual treasures.

Safeguarding our treasures is a task equal to that of creating them. I mention here just the most basic treasure as an example: protection of the purity and beauty of the Hungarian language, which is equally desirable for artistic expression and everyday speech and is the number one expression of our culture and national existence.

Our party -- as stated by our congress -- considers creative freedom to be of fundamental significance. It supports all endeavors and experiements which contribute to fulfillment of the humanist mission of culture, which enriches mankind and helps us realistically familiarize ourselves with our past and present reality. It is my conviction that the recognition of your outstanding work meets with the approval of all our people. I hope this award will miltiply your creative spirit and that your bright example will increase the creative energies of our entire people and strengthen the purpose and attraction of creative work. I wish you all further successes from the bottom of my heart.

[Tardos] You heard Laszlo Marothy, member of the MSZMP Politburo and deputy premier, greeting the people receiving decorations. Here in the Cupola Hall of parliament at the presentation ceremony is Janos Kadar, general secretary of the party. Also present are Premier Gyorgy Lazar, Ferenc Havasi, secretary of the Central Committee, Gyorgy Aczel, and Sandor Gaspar -- all are members of the MSZMP Politburo.

Soviet Warships Begin Visit

LD022350 Budapest MTI in English 1710 GMT 2 Apr 85

[Text] Budapest, April 2 (MTI) -- A three-ship unit of the Black Sea fleet awarded Red Banner Order of the Soviet Union Tuesday arrived in Budapest.

The warships accompanied by the Danube sloop of the Hungarian People's Army, were given a ceremonial welcome on the Danube stretch in the centre of the capital. A special troop of the Army gave military honours and hundreds of Budapest citizens gathered on the river banks to welcome the ships.

Members of the staff of generals of the Hungarian Peoples Army and leading representatives of the Soviet Embassy in Hungary and the southern army troop temporarily stationed in Hungary attended the welcoming ceremony.

The cannon salute of the Danube bank battery of the Hungarian People's Army was returned by the Soviet Warships.

Friendship With USSR Celebrated

LD030238 Budapest MTI in English 1756 GMT 2 Apr 85

[Text] Budapest, April 2 (MTI) -- The national board of the Hungarian-Soviet Friendship Society (HSFS) held a celebration on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the liberation of Hungary at the house of friendship in Budapest, on Tuesday.

The celebration was attended by the delegation of the Soviet-Hungarian Friendship Society under the leadership of Colonel-General Boris Ivanov, deputy president of the society. The jubilee speech was delivered by HSFS General Secretary Gyula Biro.

The celebration was also attended by Erno Lakatos and Peter Varga, heads of department at the HSWP Central Committee, and representatives of party, state and social organizations and the Soviet Embassy in Budapest.

Leaders Honor Soviet Liberators

LD032118 Budapest MTI in English 1725 GMT 3 Apr 85

[Text] Budapest, April 3 (MTI) -- The Central Committee of the HSWP, the Council of Ministers and the National Council of Hungarian Patriotic People's Front (HPPF) held wreathlaying ceremonies at the memorial of Soviet heroes on Szabadsag Square on Wednesday to mark the 40th anniversary of the country's liberation.

In the Szabadsag Square military honours were given to Pal Losonczi, president of the Presidential Council, who was accompanied by Colonel General Istvan Olah, defence minister.

After the playing of the Hungarian and Soviet anthems, on behalf of the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic Pal Losonczi and Rezso Trautmann placed a wreath at the foot of the monument.

The wreath of the HSWP Central Committee was laid by General Secretary Janos Kadar and Deputy Secretary Karoly Nemeth and the wreath of the Council of Ministers by Prime Minister Gyorgy Lazar and Deputy Premier Laszlo Marothy.

Then the heads of the foreign party and government delegations in Hungary for the jubilee ceremonies placed wreaths at the monument, on behalf of the delegation of the USSR Vasiliy Kuznetsov, alternate member of the CPSU Political Committee and first deputy president of the Supreme Soviet Presidium, on behalf of the delegation of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic Josef Korcak, member of the PCZ Presidium, deputy head of the Federal Government and head of the government of the Czech Socialist Republic, on behalf of the delegation of the Yugoslav Socialist Federal Republic Miljan Radovic, board member of the League of Yugoslav Communists CC, on behalf of the delegation of the Polish People's Republic Kazimierz Barcikowski, member of the PUWP CC Political Committee and secretary of the CC, on behalf of the GDR delegation Werner Felfe, member of the GSUP CC Political Committee, secretary of the Romanian Socialist Republic Gheorghe Radulescu, member of the RCP CC Political Executive Committee and vice-president of the State Council.

Then wreaths were laid by senior diplomats of accredited diplomatic corps.

The senior executives of public and social organizations including General Secretary Imre Pozsgay on behalf of the National Council of the Hungarian Patriotic People's Front, President Sandor Gaspar on behalf of the Central Council of Trade Unions, First Secretary Casaba Hamori on behalf of the KISZ CC, General Secretary Marton Ispanovics on behalf of the Federation of Hungarian Resistance Fighters and anti-fascists, and General Secretary Gyula Biro on behalf of the Hungarian-Soviet friendship society, placed wreaths.

On behalf of the Hungarian Armed Forces Colonel General Istvan Olah, defence minister, minister of home affairs Janos Kamara and national commandar of the Hungarian Workers' Militia Sandor Borbely laid wreaths.

Wreaths were laid by representatives of the Soviet Southern Army troops temporarily stationed in Hungary including Colonel General Konstantin Kochetov, Major General Anatoliy Makunin, and Lieutenant General Nikolay Bondarchuk.

The wreath of the Metropolitan Council of Budapest was laid by Mayor Zoltan Szepvolgyi and his general deputy Lajos Farkasinszky.

Then the representatives of Budapest factories, institutes, and young ones placed flowers of tribute.

The ceremony ended with the playing of The Internationale and march-off of the special unit of the People's Army.

The guard of honour drew up at Heroes' Square opposite to the Hungarian heroes' monument. Pal Losonczi, accompanied by Istvan Olah, arrived at the square.

After the Hungarian national anthem, wreaths were laid by Pal Losonczi and Rezso Trautmann, on behalf of the Presidential Council, by Janos Kadar and Karoly Nemeth, on behalf of the HSWP Central Committee, and Gyorgy Lazar and Laszlo Marothy, on behalf of the Council of Ministers.

Heads of visiting foreign party and government delegations, and representatives of diplomatic missions in Budapest also laid wreaths.

Flowers of tribute were laid by the representatives social and public organizations and the Hungarian Armed Forces.

Then representatives of the headquarters of the Soviet Southern Army group, temporarily stationed in Hungary, laid wreaths.

Finally representatives of the Budapest Municipal Council, Budapest workers and young people laid wreaths.

After The Internationale was played, the march of the guard of honour closed the ceremony.

Present at the wreath laying ceremonies were Gyorgy Aczel, Karoly Grosz, Ferenc Havasi, Miklos Ovari, Istvan Sarlos and Istvan Szabo, members of the HSWP Political Committee, Andras Gyenes, chairman of the Central Inspection Commission, Janos Berecz, Lenard Pal and Matyas Szuros, secretaries of the Central Committee, and members of the Central Committee, the Presidential Council and the government. Present were heads of several diplomatic missions.

Losonczi Awards Public Servants

LD032107 Budapest MTI in English 1801 GMT 3 Apr 85

[Text] Budapest, April 3 (MTI) — On the 40th anniversary of Hungary's liberation, the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic awarded honours to public servants and members of the Armed Forces, in appreciation of their outstanding professional work and public activity.

Pal Losonczi, member of the HSWP Political Committee and president of the Presidential Council, presented the honours in the vaulted hall of the parliament building, Wednesday. Present were Gyorgy Lazar, chairman of the Council of Ministers, and Karoly Nemeth, deputy general secretary of the HSWP, members of the Political Committee.

Marjai Meets USSR's Shcherbina

LD040950 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2000 GMT 3 Apr 85

[Text] Deputy Premier Jozsef Marjai has received deputy Premier Boris Shcherbina, a member of the Soviet party and government delegation taking part in the 4 April ceremonies. At the meeting they discussed the state of Hungarian-Soviet economic cooperation.

PZPR's Barcikowski Lays Wreath

LD032308 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 3 Apr 85

[Excerpts] Today, on the eve of the 40th anniversary of the liberation of Hungary, the inhabitants of Budapest have paid homage to the memory of those who gave their lives in the struggle for liberation: the soldiers of the Soviet Army. In Budapest a wreath with red and white flowers was laid by a Polish delegation headed by Kazimierz Barcikowski, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee of the PZPR.

Romanians Lay Wreaths

AU032050 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1905 GMT 3 Apr 85

[Text] Budapest, AGERPRES 3/4/1985 -- A Romanian party and state delegation led by Gheorghe Radulescu, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, vice-president of the State Council, now in Budapest to attend the events marking 40 years since Hungary's liberation from fascist domination, laid floral wreaths at the Rakosliget cemetery in Budapest where the Romanian heroes who laid down their lives for the Hungarian capital's liberation were buried.

The Romanian delegation also laid floral wreaths at the memorial of Hungarian heroes as well as at the memorial of Soviet heroes. Floral wreaths were also laid at the Romanian heroes' cemetry by a UCY [Union of Communist Youth] delegation led by Poliana Cristescu, member of the CC of the RCP, secretary of the CC of the UCY, and by other Romanian delegations now in Budapest on the same occasion.

Wreath laying ceremonies were also held at the Romanian heroes' cemeteries and memorials in the towns of Miscolcz and Gyor.

Varga Meets RCP's Critescu

AU032043 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1903 GMT 3 Apr 85

[Text] Budapest, AGERPRES 3/4/1985 -- Poliana Critescu, member of the CC of the RCP, secretary of the CC of the Union of Communist Youth [UCY] of Romania, head of a UCY delegation to the events arranged on the anniversary of the 40 years since Hungary's liberation from fascist domination, had a friendly interview on Wednesday with Laszlo Varga, member of the HSWP, general secretary of the Young Pioneers' Organization of the Hungarian People's Republic.

During the interview information was exchanged on the activity of educating and moulding the young generation in the two countries. The interview was also an opportunity for a better knowledge of the activity and concerns of the Young Pioneers' Organizations in Romania and Hungary.

Leaders Attend Parade

LD050918 Budapest MTI in English 1805 GMT 4 Apr 85

[Excerpt] Budapest, April 4 (MTI) -- The Armed Forces of the Hungarian People's Republic, the units of the Hungarian People's Army, the Border Guard and the Workers Militia Thursday greeted April 4, the 40th anniversary of the liberation of Hungary, with a spectacular military parade.

The following politicians were on the tribune: Janos Kadar, general secretary of the HWSP, Pal Losonczi, president of the Presidential Council, Gyorgy Lazar, chairman of the Council of Ministers, Karoly Nemeth, deputy general secretary of the HSWP, Gyorgy Aczel, Sandor Gaspar, Karoly Grosz, Ferenc Havasi, Csaba Hamori, Laszlo Marothy, Miklos Ovari, Istvan Sarlos, Istvan Szabo, members of the HSWP Political Committee, Andras Gyenes, president of the Central Inspection Commission of the HSWP, Janos Berecz, Istvan Horvath, Ienard Pal, Matyas Szuros, secretaries of the HSWP CC, Lajos Czinege and Judit Csehak, deputy premiers, Janos Kamara, minister of home affairs, and Sandor Borbely, national commander of the Workers Militia.

Colonel General Nikolay Silchenko, representative in Hungary of the chief commander of the Warsaw Treaty United Armed Forces, and Colonel General Konstantin Kochetov, commander of the Soviet Southern Army troops temporarily stationed in Hungary, were also on the tribune. The heads of foreign party and government delegations who came to Hungary for the anniversary, and several senior diplomats of the foreign diplomatic corps in Hungary, watched the parade.

Leaders Attend Reception

LD051239 Budapest MTI in English 1019 GMT 5 Apr 85

[Text] Budapest, April 4 (MTI) -- The Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic Thursday gave a reception in parliament on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the country's liberation.

The reception was attended by Janos Kadar, general secretary of the HSWP, Pal Losonczi, president of the Presidential Council, Gyorgy Lazar, chairman of the Council of Ministers, Karoly Nemeth, deputy general secretary of the HSWP, Gyorgy Aczel, Sandor Gaspar, Karoly Grosz, Ferenc Havasi, Csaba Hamori, Laszlo Marothy, Miklos Ovari, Istvan Sarlos, Istvan Szabo, members of the HSWP Political Committee, Andras Gyenes, president of the Central Inspection Commission of the HSWP, Janos Berecz, Istvan Horvath, Lenard Pal, Matyas Szuros, secretaries of the HSWP CC. It was attended by several members of the Central Committee, the Presidential Council and the Council of Ministers and oustanding personalities of the country's political, economic and cultural life, and excellent workers of factories and institutions. The foreign party and government delegations that attended festivities marking the 40th anniversary of the country's liberation took part in the ceremony, as well as senior diplomats of the foreign diplomatic corps in Hungary.

Pal Losonczi greeted the participants of the warm and friendly reception.

Ovari Receives SED's Felfe

LD042336 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1400 GMT 4 Apr 85

[Text] Werner Felfe, head of the GDR delegation in Budapest for the celebrations to mark the 40th anniversary of the liberation of Hungary, and member of the Politburo and Secretariat of the SED Central Committee, today presented the official message of greetings from the party and state leadership.

He conveyed cordial greetings from Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee, and the people of the GDR. Werner Felfe wished Hungary successful work in fulfilling the decisions of the 13th MSZMP Congress. He presented a gift in the form of an oil painting by Leipzig painter Fritz (Froehlich) depicting new Berlin.

Miklos Ovari, member of the Politburo and Secretariat of the MSZMP Central Committee, accepted the message of greetings and is building on the powerful sources of strength that lay in the socialist system and in the national unity of the people, as well as in the cohesion of the community of states.

SFRY, USSR Representatives Meet

LD051623 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1336 GMT 5 Apr 85

[Text] Budapest, 5 Apr (TANJUG) -- Miljan Radovic, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, who headed a Yugoslav delegation to the celebration of the 40th anniversary of the liberation of Hungary, has had talks with Vasiliy Kuznetsov, candidate member of the Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, who headed a Soviet state-party delegation to the celebration in Budapest.

During a friendly conversation, which the two sides had on this occasion, a positive assessment was made of relations and cooperation between the LCY and the CPSU, as well as of comprehensive Yugoslav-Soviet relations, based on well-known, jointly accepted principles. Also discussed was the celebration of the 40th anniversary of victory over fascism.

USSR, GDR, PPR Groups Leave

LD051046 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 5 Apr 85

[Text] At the Lajos Kossuth Square in front of the parliament building the national flag raised on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the country's liberation has been lowered. The national flag and the red flag of the working class were also lowered during military honors at the liberation memorial on Gellert Hill.

The Soviet, GDR, and Polish delegation left Hungary. The party and state delegations took part in the 4 April celebrations. The Soviet delegation headed by Vasiliy Kuznetsov, first deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet, was seen off by Karoly Nemeth, deputy general secretary of the MSZMP, while the GDR guests were accompanied to the airport by Miklos Ovari and the Polish delegation was seen off by Csaba Hamori.

SFRY Delegation Leaves

LD051840 Budapest MTI in English 1705 GMT 5 Apr 85

[Text] Budapest, April 5 (MTI) -- The Yugoslav party and government delegation, led by Miljan Radovic, member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, which attended ceremonies held on the 40th anniversary of Hungary's liberation, left Budapest Friday. The delegation was seen off at Ferihegy Airport by Istvan Sarlos, member of the HSWP Political Committee and president of the National Assembly. Present was Milovan Zadar, Yugoslav ambassador to Hungary.

CSSR, Bulgarian Groups Leave

LD051437 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1400 GMT 5 Apr 85

[Text] In the afternoon, the Czechoslovak and Bulgarian party and government delegations left Budapest. The delegations took part in the festivities celebrating the 40th anniversary of our country's liberation. The Czechoslovak guests were seen off at Ferihegy Airport by Ferenc Havasi, member of the MSZMP Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee, and the Bulgarian guests by Istvan Szabo, member of the MSZMP Politburo and chairman of the National Council of Agricultural Cooperatives. The Soviet, East German, Polish, and Yugoslav party and government delegations already left Hungary this morning.

Romanian Delegation Leaves

LD062346 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1630 GMT 6 Apr 85

[Text] The Romanian party and state delegation that participated in the festivities marking the 40th anniversary of the liberation has left. The delegation, led by Gheorghe Radulescu, member of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP and vice-president of the Council of State was seen off at Ferihegy Airport by Deputy Prime Minister Laszlo Marothy.

Soviet Flotilla Ends Visit

LD052305 Budapest MTI in English 1720 GMT 5 Apr 85

[Text] Budapest, April 5 (MTI) - On Friday the three units of the Soviet Black Sea flottila, awarded the Red Order of Banner of the Soviet Union, ended a visit to Budapest on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of Hungary's liberation.

PRESIDENTIAL COUNCIL DISCUSSES LIBERATION, IMF

AU020947 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 30 Mar 85 p 3

[Text] The Presidential Council held its session on 29 March. The body, at the suggestion of the Council of Ministers, drafted a statutory rule creating, on the 40th anniversary of the liberation of our country, a general amnesty, the laws of which will be in force beginning 5 April.

The Presidential Council passed a resolution on Hungary joining the International Finance Corporation and the International Development Association, and on questions relating to these issues.

Next the body passed a resolution concerning awards to be given on the 40th anniversary of the liberation of our country; made decisions on personnel questions; and released and appointed judges.

CULTURE MINISTER KOPECZI ARRIVES IN MOSCOW

For Soviet reportage of the visit by B. Kopeczi, Hungarian minister of culture and education, to Moscow in connection with the 40th anniversary of the end of World War II, see the Eastern Europe section of the 5 April Soviet Union DAILY REPORT.

'PEACEFUL PROTEST MOVEMENT' FOUNDED IN KRAKOW

AU051217 Paris AFP in English 1209 GMT 5 Apr 85

[Text] Warsaw, April 5 (AFP) -- Militant members of the dissolved Solidarity trade union have founded a "peaceful protest movement" in Krakow to defend human rights in Poland, they announced in a statement today.

The militants organised a rotating strike in Krakow, Poland's historic old capital, on February 19, during the release of an estimated 100 political prisoners.

The government released 654 political prisoners in July 1984 under a general amnesty.

The statement also said that the movement wanted to compel the government of General Wojciech Jaruzelski to "apply the Polish Constitution permitting freedom of speech." It wanted the government to "respect" human rights so that "nobody is arrested or convicted henceforth for political opinions." The protestors urged young Poles to organize demonstrations throughout the country in support of this new movement.

Fifteen Solidarity militants started their hunger strike -- each of them in turn for three days -- in Biezanow Church, in the suburbs of Krakow. On March 30 they were joined by 100 people from all over the country. The protestors are demanding the release of some of their leaders, Bogdan Lis, Wladyslaw Frasyniuk and Adam Michnik, arrested on February 13, and former Solidarity Vice President Andrzej Gwiazda, serving a five-month sentence for attending an illegal demonstration. Their letters to the government have not been answered.

LOPATKA COMMENTS ON CHURCH-STATE RELATIONS

PM041537 Bialystok GAZETA WSPOLCZESNA in Polish 1 Mar 85 p 3

[Interview with Minister Adam Lopatka, head of the Office for Religious Affairs, by GAZETA WSPOLCZESNA correspondent Stanislaw Kulikowski; date and place not given]

[Text] [Kulikowski] Minister, the tenor of the relations between the state and the church -- or, to be more precise, the Catholic Church -- has been influenced by the whole history of the 40 years of the PPR and the experience accumulated during that period. What determines the quality of these relations? Can we speak of some new tendencies -- and if so, what are they and where are they pointing?

[Lopatka] The quality of church-state relations depends on three essential factors: the attitude of the state, the attitude of the church, and the circumstances accompanying these attitudes. From the very beginning of our state its policy has remained consistent. It was formulated at the Unification Congress of 1948 [fusion of Polish Workers Party with Polish Socialist Party to form PZPR] and confirmed in the 1952 Constitution. The basic principles adopted were: equal rights for all citizens regardless of their religious creed; freedom of conscience and creed; and equality of all religions; and, finally, the fundamental principle of the separation of church and state, which means that the state is not an exponent of the interests of any particular religion and that the churches are denied any participation in the exercise of state power. It is especially this last principle that has been regarded by the Catholic Church as a particular calamity, and that is why it has been so passionately attacked. This already constitutes one of the facets of the church's attitude.

If we are to discuss that attitude in a broader framework, we need to look beyond the Polish frame of reference and consider the stand taken by the Vatican as well as those assumed by the church hierarchy and the Catholic clergy in general.

Until the second Vatican Council the Vatican's attitude was dominated by a tendency to actively combat communism, which was replaced after the council by a more universal formula proclaiming the church's transcendence of sociopolitical systems. This obviously created new conditions for the coexistence of church and state in Poland. The establishing of contacts between the PPR and the Vatican was an expression of that new coexistence. We should remember the visits paid to the Vatican by representatives of the PPR's supreme authorities, and the pope's visits to the PPR. It is understandable that the attitude of the Polish Episcopate was largely conditioned by the Vatican's policy, although it has never, so to speak, implemented that policy very rigorously. Thus, before Vatican II, relations between state and church in the PPR were better than might have been expected in the context of the Vatican's directives, and the first state-church covenant was signed in Poland 14 years before the council, which did not increase the numbers of Cardinal Wyszynski's Vatican friends. Nether was such a realistic approach invariably endorsed by adherents in the ranks of the Polish church hierarchy.

[Kulikowski] How do these questions stand today, in circumstances that are qualitatively different, with the Vatican having, as it were, moved back to more rigid positions?

[Lopatka] The situation is indeed changing. We can see proof of this in the Vatican's condemnation of liberation theology and in its negative views of the socialist system, in which it is in noticeable agreement with the opinions of the Washington administration. There is further proof of it in the preparations for the synod of Bishops, which, as is expected, will probably effect emendations of the second Vatican Council. As I have already said, the Polish Episcopate has never implemented Vatican policy too precisely, but Vatican influence is noticeable. For example, the Catholic Church failed to notice the 40th anniversary of the state's rebirth, which can hardly be seen as anything other than an act of self-imposed isolation from the nation on the part of the church hierarchy. We recognize with approval the church's project of celebrating the PPR's return to the regained territories. It is in keeping with the state's interest and represents the PPR's raison d'etat. It must be said that in many instances a considerable proportion of the hierarchy and the clergy is perfectly loyal to the state. There is also, of course, an extreme wing of clergymen who actively fight the system and the state. In that group we can point to about 100 priests who can be described as inexorable enemies. To forestall a question from you, I will tell you how these inexorable political adversaries can be identified. I have been asked about this by Western reporters. I told them that we read the Western press very carefully and can assess certain priests' attitudes from the interest with which it follows their activities.

[Kulikowski] At one of your meetings you said that the history of Christianity illustrates its marked capacity for adapting itself to the prevailing conditions and new systems. Thus, in its early stages it took relatively little time to transform itself from a persecuted to the ruling religion, later to become successively the mainstay of the feudal system and of capitalism. You also said that the Catholic Church has preserved this capacity for adaptation under completely new conditions, within the framework of the socialist system, as illustrated by the situation in the PPR.

[Lopatka] Yes. I believe that it is so. I am convinced that the church's future lies in its adaptation to the conditions of the socialist system.

[Kulikowski] But socialism places the church in a completely different context. The earlier systems, slave through feudal to capitalist, did not stand in such contrast to religion as socialism does.

Property relations changed, but the same system of values was, on the whole, applied as regards the question of faith. Socialist ideology, however, stands in obvious contrast with the dogmas of faith.

[Lopatka] But that does not exclude the possibility of adaptation. Anyway, we have examples of such adaptation right here, on our own home ground. Of the 35 churches registered in Poland, 34, including churches of such consequence as the Orthodox and the Evangelical Churches, have adapted themselves and taken the position of recognizing the system, respecting the law, and even praying vigorously for the authorities in power. The Orthodox Church even introduced a special prayer for the Polish Army during the period of martial law. It is not religion or creed that prevent cooperation, for those believers -- and they are Christians, too, sharing their lineage with the Catholics -- can come to terms with the socialist system. Therefore it is not religious belief that separates some believes from the authorities in power, but political attitudes shielded by religious belief. You can have differing political views within the same religious persuasion. This is illustrated by a number of Catholic priests and bishops who have declared themselves for the changes without becoming less Catholic in the process. It is only the adversaries of socialism, themselves clergymen, who claim that the former are inferior Catholics, whereas in reality they are pioneers of the church of the future. There is nothing in the nature of Christianity that might prevent a believer from actively declaring himself on the side of socialism. For the dividing factors are mainly concerned with what happens after death, while questions dealing with life bring them together. Take, for instance, the whole area of moral issues. The sources of Christian and socialist morality are different, but we can still speak of considerable areas where they meet. Similar values are at stake when it comes to the issue of consolidating the family, combating pathological symptoms, and so on. Finally, both the church and the state agree on questions of such fundamental importance as national independence and state borders.

[Kulikowski] All the same, is it not too optimistic the believe that there is, so to speak, a wing emerging within the church that is in favor of cooperation and adaptation? The recent past seems to contradict that belief.

[Lopatka] If we consider the whole period of the PPR, we will see that the way of thinking that envisages adaptation is steadily gaining strength. But since 1980, and continuing into the present time, there has been a certain setback in that process, a backward move in favor of the faction which remains against it.

After the war, after the defeat of the political underground and Mikolajczyk's [pro-Western deputy premier in the 1940's] political failure -- that is, after the elimination of right-wing forces -- the church could see no other forces which might work toward the overthrow of socialism. The emergence of Solidarity created a new situation and opened a new chapter. Such a force did appear within the working class itself, that is, within the class that has always been and always will be the mainstay of socialism. This stirred up tremendous hopes that the working class itself would overthrow the very system which accords it preferential status. That is why the introduction and the success of martial law came as such a shock to the church. That is why the dissolution of trade unions came as another great shock, with all the concern reserved exclusively for Solidarity, without any attempts being made at concealing the fact. It must be said that even today there are people in the church who hope that movement will be revived, and their hope spurs into action those who are enemies of socialism, who are against the church adapting itself to the system.

Naturally enough, we do not know how the situation will develop. We are doing all we can to prevent it developing according to the intentions of those who want to abolish the power of the working class with the help of the working class itself.

And, of course, if we manage to consolidate the working class on the basis of socialism, then the hopes of abolishing the system will become illusory and the process within the church leading to its adaptation to the system will begin to develop and gain strength again. All setbacks in this process are firmly connected with the hopes for the collapse of the system.

[Kulikowski] The past few years have seen a marked increase in the church's activity, demonstrated, among other things, by the sharp rise in the number of new church and religious cult premises being built. I was a witness, minister, when you were once criticized -- or, rather, almost attacked -- over the state approving the construction of these buildings too liberally, disregarding our notorious difficulties in this sector.

[Lopatka] It is true that more religious cult premises are being built now than at any previous time. All in all, there are some 12,000 of them. And they are of course very costly. It is also true that we could build schools, nursery schools, or hospitals instead, as these are very much needed by the people. But it is, in turn, also true that the need to satisfy people's religious feelings is one of the more pressing social needs. By permitting the construction of religious buildings the state authenticates a basic constitutional principle, that of freedom of conscience and creed; and without buildings for the practice of religious cults this freedom would be incomplete. Finally, as the state often proclaims, it wishes to pursue a policy toward religious belief that would be accepted by a majority of the population, believers and nonbelievers alike. Any other policy geared only to citizens of no religious persuasion would denote adventurism rather than a serious policy.

Generally it must be said that the state has always wished and continues to wish for correct relations with the church. Any deterioration of these relations, or struggle between state and church would spell tragedy for the PPR and afford schadenfreude for its enemies.

[Kulikowski] Various social milieus have registered concern that the tenor of these relations may be adversely affected by the recent Torun trial, which was accompanied by great public interests. Was the outspoken manner in which certain questions were discussed, questions that are sensitive for the church and, by the same token, sensitive for a large proportion of the PPR's faithful, appropriate in this context?

[Lopatka] No one can control what the defendants say in court, especially when they are facing the threat of such severe sentences, and no one can hold a grievance against them for it. They said what they considered relevant to their defense line. As to the question of these matters being discussed by the other parties, they were partly touched upon in the prosecution speeches, especially that delivered by prosecutor Pietrasinski. It must, however, be stressed that this was in close connection with the case. It was only the auxiliary prosecutors who then launched, so to speak, an all-out attack against the system as a whole and an apology for the church as a whole, as it is today and as it has been throughout history. The addressess delivered by Mr Counsel Wende were, in particular, a classic example of an exposition of clericalist ideology. This, naturally, could not be left unanswered: It required a reply. The party represented before the court, that is, the Prosecutor's Office was bound to give such a reply.

I am stressing the order in which these addresses were delivered to illustrate one important thing here. It was not the Prosecutor's Office that directed the course of the trial in this way; it was those who are connected with the church and, in particular, those who were connected with the victim. This order of things was of tremendous importance to the case.

[Kulikowski] Nevertheless, the fact remains that sensitive issues were publicly broached here. And another one: That the very reason for the trial itself is an extremely sensitive issue. Has this affected the shape of church-state relations in any way? Are there any noticeable changes?

[Lopatka] I think there will be some changes. The state will continue to follow the principles of its regular policy toward religious matters. But the attitude of the Episcopate has changed. The Episcopate identified itself with the stance adopted by the politicking priests and bishops. The state cannot overlook that in its own policy.

[Kulikowski] Thank you for talking to me.

OBODOWSKI COMMENTS ON COOPERATION WITH PRC

LD051536 Warsaw PAP in English 1419 GMT 5 Apr 85

[By PAP correspondent Jerzy Bajer]

[Text] Peking, April 5 -- Poland's Vice-Premier Janusz Obodowski ended his weekly official visit to the People's Republic of China today. The visit coincided with the debates of the first session of the Polish-Chinese committee for cooperation in the economy, trade, science and technology here.

At the close of his visit Vice-Premier Janusz Obodowski told PAP that his stay in this country was very useful from the point of view of further broad cooperation between both countries. Chinese partners showed their interest in many Polish technical solutions and in the development of cooperation in industrial branches and non-industrial sectors, he said.

Progress was made in talks on long-term agreement on cooperation in economy and trade. Further talks will be conducted during a visit by Chinese Vice-Premier Li Peng who received with satisfaction an invitation extended to him to visit Poland.

An important event for future Polish-Chinese relations was the first session of the committee for cooperation in the economy, trade, science and technology, Janusz Obodowski stated. In many respects Poland and China have much to offer each other. Both countries' economies are complementary and this was reflected in decisions taken by the committee's session, said he. One should also pay attention to the fact that the share of industrial products, machine and plant, equipment and vehicles has been regularly increasing in Poland's exports to China, while the Chinese partner has been providing Poland with many marketables and raw materials, the vice-premier pointed out, adding that Poland would like to strengthen its position as a supplier of modern machine and plant to the Chinese market.

UN DELEGATE WANTS INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL SESSION

LD051402 Warsaw PAP in English 1103 GMT 5 Apr 85

[By PAP Correspondent Ludwik Arendt]

[Text] New York, April 4 -- Addressing a session of the U.N. special committee for the review of the implementation of the charter of economic rights and duties of states, Poland's representative Dr Jerzy Nowak said that Poland supports the idea to convene an international conference on financial and monetary issues.

We are of the opinion that such a conference, securing a widespread and equal participation by all countries, should be held under the auspices of the United States. We think that the problems in question cannot be solved without sweeping reforms in the existing monetary system, said the Polish delegate.

It is not possible to change the model of world economy, with a view to establishing the new economic order, without restoring confidence building measures to international economic relations, he said.

Despite unfavourable external conditions caused by the policy of economic restrictions imposed on Poland by the U.S. and some of its NATO allies, Poland introduced the economic reform and re-adjusted to the new international situation. With numerous difficulties occurring so far, it proved possible to check crisis tendencies in the Polish economy which embarked upon the road of progress.

This was possible due to the re-orientation of Poland's international economic relations towards tighter contacts with the Soviet Union and other CMEA states. Also, Poland's cooperation with developing countries in Asia, Africa, and Latin America plays a more important role at present.

Referring to the implementation of the provisions of the charter of economic rights and duties of states, Jozef Nowak described the hitherto experiences as unsatisfactory pointing to frequent violations of principles of mutually advantageous cooperation, interference in internal affairs of other states, economic pressure exerted on some socialist and developing states.

BARCIKOWSKI PRAISES SEJM'S ROLE THROUGH 'CRISIS'

LD051407 Warsaw PAP in English 1109 GMT 5 Apr 85

[Text] Warsaw, April 4 (PAP) -- The coalition system of rule in Poland, i.e. the joint rule by the PUWP and allied parties, with the PUWP playing the leading role, was particularly reflected in activities by the Sejm in the 8th term of office.

Referring to the above topic in an interview for PAP, chairman of the PUWP Deputies' Club, Political Bureau member, PUWP CC Secretary Kazimierz Barcikowski said that parliament is not the only plane of such experiences. Such cooperation is characteristic of the entire political life in Poland, since corresponding set-ups exist in the government, similar in PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth] and in numerous social and political organizations.

It seems to me that one could ask a more general question, namely what determined the fact that the Sejm elected in a different socio-political situation, lived up to its role in the time of crisis, being a centre of national and state interests, a centre unquestionable for public opinion and fully consistent in carrying out its activities, said Kazimierz Barcikowski.

The Sejm retained, and even consolidated such position, despite attacks on the part of the exuberant anarchy, activities by anti-socialist forces.

Full understanding by the parliamentary coalition of the superior interests of Poland and Poles could be seen even in the most difficult moments of recent years. After all such understanding was displayed in the Sejm with regard to the decision on the introduction of martial law. This alliance also provided the plane for all decisions connected with the lifting of the law in question, with the introduction of amnesty, of legal regulations necessary for securing this country's peace and security.

Those crucial and difficult decisions helped consolidate cooperation between the PUWP and the allied parties and the coalition system of rule in Poland was passing its test of practice. The existing coalition set-ups are in no way a simple continuation of the previous forms of cooperation. The new qualities of this alliance have been determined by the deep changes in our party, in all allied parties, in lay Catholic milieux. The allied parties are retrieving their identity, and such sound principles make up the essence of coalition.

In the new situation, our party arranges its contacts with the UPP and DP in the partner-like manner, with the PUWP leading function preserved, hence also that of the PUWP deputies' club in the Sejm.

Next Kazimierz Barcikowski recalled that the resolution by 9th PUWP Extraordinary Congress embodied the entire legislative programme for the Sejm. This was a programme connected with the cause of reforms laid down by the latest party congress and carried into effect by the Sejm of the 8th term. Similar resolutions have also been adopted by UPP and DP congresses.

One has to point out that the initial impulse for various issues comes from meetings of the commission for PUWP, UPP and DP cooperation. They deal with most general issues which are subsequently discussed in a more detailed manner by deputies' clubs, and in the case of absolute details -- within Sejm committees, composed after all of members of the PUWP and the other parties and deputies with no party affiliation.

It is due to this method of arriving at an agreement, at solutions, on the way to the Sejm plenary meeting as it were, that the plenary debate jointly adopts solutions to particular questions.

What is the reason why the Sejm arrives at a joint stance? The reason is that all deputies are guided by the Constitution, by politico-ideological guidelines aimed to consolidate and improve our socio-political system, to shape the development of socialist Poland.

Cooperating, as the chairman of the PWUP Deputies' Club, with my colleagues from deputies' clubs of the UPP and the DP, deputies' circles of lay Catholics, I have the utmost respect for partners in this cooperation.

It is due to such honesty in those relations, to the immense sense of responsibility for the destinies of the state, the nation, socialism -- that the Sejm could live through that difficult period with the feeling of unity on the basis of the constitution. This was immensely significant for the stability of the rule in Poland, Kazimierz Barcikowski said in conclusion.

BRIEFS

TRADE UNION MEMBERSHIP -- Trade unions now have approximately 5.2 million members who are active in 130 federations and uniform national trade unions. One hundred and nine federations have applied for membership in the OPZZ. Almost 50 percent of those employed in the socialized economy are now trade union members. Franciszek Ciemny, OPZZ press spokesman, gave these figures to TRYBUNA LUDU. [Text] [Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0500 GMT 4 Apr 85 LD]

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL ENDORSES IMPORT-EXPORT RULES

LD062139 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0932 GMT 6 Apr 85

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 6 Apr (TANJUG) -- According to the announcement made by the Federal Secretariat for Information, the Federal Executive Council examined and endorsed draft laws by which foreign economic relations are regulated at its sessions yesterday and the day before, presided over by Milka Planinc. These are the draft laws on foreign exchange business, the exchange of goods and services with foreign countries and foreign exchange relations. Also endorsed was the program of measures and activities for creating conditions in which the foreign exchange market can function.

The proposed solutions establish the lasting system of economic relations with foreign countries and transitional measures which will be in force until the dinar becomes convertible.

It has beenestablished by the drafts that foreign exchange should be used only for payments abroad and that this should be done in keeping with the needs imposed by social reproduction as a whole, increased exports, the individual needs by the organizations of associated labor and general social needs. The system presupposes achieving the convertibility of the dinar and the stability of the balance of payments, which would ensure free export and import.

Four systems have been established for imports: Free imports with the unrestricted right to import; import quotas; imports by permission; and free imports within the framework of the limited amount of payment (for goods which would be freely imported, but only within the framework of possibilities). Within the framework of the fourth system the volume of payment would be established on the basis of socially accepted reproduction needs, which would be calculated by the criteria established by law.

The proposed draft laws have also worked out the mechanism of foreign exchange control, which would be carried out by the Yugoslav National Bank, the national banks of the republics and provinces, the Federal Foreign Exchange Inspectorate and customs organs. Severe sanctions have been envisaged for those who fail to respect legal regulations in this field, to the extent that rights could be lost for doing business with foreign countries.

According to the Federal Executive Council the proposed legal solutions should contribute to the strengthening of the import orientation of the Yugoslav economy based on rational principles and the elimination of shortcomings in the present system. Such shortcomings contribute to efforts to weaken the income links of organizations of associated labor in reproduction as a whole, hinder the circulation of foreign exchange and enable the acquiring of income through speculation.

LCY COMMISSION DISCUSSES HOW TO AMEND STATUTE

AU052005 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 29 Mar 85 pp 1, 3

[V. Vignjevic report]

[Excerpts] Belgrade 26 Mar -- The general party debate broached a number of questions of a statute nature, on which the ideopolitical positions should be determined for further work on amendments to the LCY statute. This, after all, is an obligation imposed by the 12th LCY Congress which requested a new text of the statute which could be shorter, clearer, and more pithy.

The essential question, which was also posed in the discussion at the session of the Commission for Statute Questions of the LCY under the chairmanship of Jure Bilic today, read: Is it a matter of editorial changes only or are serious changes of the entire statute material necessary?

That the question is a complicated one is confirmed by the papers prepared for the session; they register almost all the positions expressed in the general party debate, from those which note that "it is not quite clear to whom a member of an LCY organ is responsible for his work and to whom he should submit his resignation" (to the organ of the LCY of the Republic, the province, or the organization in the Yugoslav People's Army in which he was elected, or to the organ whose member he is?), to the assertions that democratic centralism is being pushed back by deferment and consensus; that it is necessary to examine the manner of elections, especially a greater influence of the congress on the election of the LCY Central Committee, as well as the attitude of the political executive organs which increasingly "push back" the LC organs, especially as regards the Presidium and the LCY Central Committee, the relationship of the LCY Central Committee toward the republican central committees and the provincial committees, and so forth; and all the way to the position whether it is necessary to adopt nine statutes if the LC is a united organization and if we all accept one program.

What does it mean: a new text of the statute? This must be clearly put, Miha Ravnik said. If we say that the LCY program need not be changed, the statute also need not be changed essentially. We cannot have an entire "front" of open questions. We must close them in the process of work, for many of them are not just statutory but political, and the central committees of the republics and the provincial committees and their presidia must express their opinion on them.

Vlado Janzic agreed with him and observed that on the one hand one should not consider everything open, but one should also not state that something has been finally resolved. He considered, however, that the approach which connects the question of excessive normativism in the LCY with the statutes of the republics, provinces, and the organization in the Yugoslav People's Army is not good. It contrasts with the historical genesis of the party. In his opinion, there is no question whether there should be a new statute or not because the basic reason for a new statute, a new role of the party is absent. Its role remains unchanged.

Radisa Gacic stressed that there were very many proposals in the general party debate which were linked precisely to some statutory provisions. Vojo Srzentic warned that the ideopolitical unity of the LCY will not be created merely by the statute, without changes in the method of work and practice of the LC. However, speaking about the relationship between the LCY statute and the republican and provincial statutes, he believes that one should not go back in this respect, but see what they contain and to what extent they overlap or repeat each other.

Questions

Mika Spiljak remarked that previous statutes were shorter, but this did not diminish the efficiency of the LC. When one speaks about departures from democratic centralism, one has in mind federalization at the Yugoslav level, but in fact it is present everywhere, from the basic organizations of the LC onward. The universal principle must be respected in the LCY, but so must the equality of peoples and nationalities, and one should determine precisely where consensus is necessary, Spiljak said.

It is not good that the working groups are composed merely on the party principle, Vidoje Zarkovic warned. They should be broader and include more scientists and workers.

Zarkovic in this connection singled out a statutory question at the LCY level as the biggest one. Does such a broad Central Committee suit us? It has become transformed into a public tribune and into monologues, while the Presidium adopts political positions which the Central Committee simply endorses. Perhaps it is better to have a smaller and more influential Central Committee, and that the Presidium carries out its political executive role and prepares the sessions.

Tihomir Vilovic advocated that the commission should adopt clear positions on all the disputed points and that only afterwards should work start in groups. Boro Denkov said that the public has had enough of these divisions, and that a polarization has occurred in this discussion again: Whether we will adopt cosmetic or radical changes. He added that the way the LC struggles for a united class interest demonstrates best that partial interests are prevailing.

Concluding the discussion, Jure Bilic stressed that there are no dilemmas, as has been confirmed by both the materials and the discussion, and there is no question of editing or a cosmetic operation; positions will be adopted or rejected in the working groups, and this commission will have the final say.

RETAIL PRICES RISE 5.2 PERCENT IN MARCH

LD071448 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1012 GMT 4 Apr 85

[Summary] Belgrade, 4 Apr (TANJUG) -- The Federal Statistics Institute reports that retail prices were 5.2 percent higher in March than in February this year. Industrial food products rose 19.1 percent, agricultural food products 18.1 percent, and services 10.3 percent. The highest price increases were for medicines (45.4), milk products (21.1), vegetables (19.8), and bread (about 15 percent). Compared with March 1984, prices recorded in March of this year represent an increase of 73.4 percent, and compared with the 1984 average an increase of 48.8 percent, which is higher than expected. The cost of living rose in March 1985 by 68.8 percent compared with March 1984.

LONG-TERM ECONOMIC COOPERATION WITH USSR VIEWED

LD051552 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1358 GMT 5 Apr 85

[Text] Belgrade, April 5 (TANJUG) -- Trade with the Soviet Union accounts for one fourth of Yugoslavia's total commodity exchanges with the world, and by the end of this year, when the five-year trade agreement expires, it is expected to reach the value of 32 billion dollars. This is considered to be a level at which classical forms of bilateral trade have been exhausted.

This assessment by Marko Radulovic, an expert-associate of the Belgrade Institute for International Political and Economic Affairs, is carried by the Yugoslav daily PRIVREDNI PREGLED.

It is necessary, therefore, that the two countries in their future cooperation adopt longer-term forms of cooperation, from cooperation in production, specialization and technological development to joint ventures on third markets, writes Radulovic.

In this form of linking, prices cease to be a factor of possible surprise or misunderstandings. Instead of endeavouring to obtain higher prices for their products, the partners concentrate on what is their joint interest, namely the advancing of the quality of joint production in order to make products cheaper at home and competititve abroad.

Radulovic cites the successful cooperation between the Yugoslav automobile works Crvena Zastava of Kragujevac and the Volga automobile works of Tolyati in the production of "Lada" passenger cars. He emphasizes, however, that very good prospects for closer cooperation exist in the fields of energy production, the ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy and agroindustry.

Radulovic emphasizes in particular the prospects for successful cooperation in the scientific-technical field, noting that Yugoslavia's scientific potential is great, but insufficiently oriented to practical application.

The development of such forms of cooperation until the end of this century will be discussed at a Yugoslav symposium on the 20-year-long cooperation with the CMEA countries, due on April 13 and 14 in Belgrade.

PLO'S AL-QADDUMI CONCLUDES 3-DAY VISIT

LD061413 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1245 GMT 6 Apr 85

[Text] Belgrade, 6 Apr (TANJUG) -- Faruq al-Qaddumi, PLO Political Department head, who is paying a visit to our country during which he had talks with his host Raif Dizdarevic, federal secretary for foreign affairs, ended his 3-day working visit to the SFRY this afternoon and departed Belgrade by plane. During his 3-day visit to our country, the head of Palestinian diplomacy was received by Veselin Djuranovic, SFRY Presidency president, and Aleksandar Grlickov, SAWPY Federal Conference Presidium member.

TANJUG REPORTS RISING NUMBER OF COURT CASES

LD071406 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0905 GMT 7 Apr 85

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 7 Apr (TANJUG) -- Yugoslav courts deal with more and more cases each year. The number of new cases brought to courts was over 5 million 3 years ago and in 1983, according to the latest information, this number exceeded 5.5 million. The number of judges, however, is increasing much slower and in 1983 it amounted to 5,222, only 111 more than the previous year, although the number of new cases for this period increased by nearly 500,000. Each year sees a larger number of both completed and pending cases, mainly at courts of first instance. This indicates the need for reexamining their too-wide framework of duties, as far back as 1974, and for dealing with a large number of cases on the spot.

These are some of the facts from a report on last year's work of the federal court, which was submitted to the SFRY Assembly.

A more frequent need for court services is also felt in the federal court, where the number of new cases has also increased -- cases which are in progress, those that are finished, and also those that are "lagging."

The criminal department of the federal court deals annually with about 1,000 cases and the economic one with about 600-700; more cases, about 2,500-3,000, are dealt with in administrative litigation, where cases dealing with credit offenses (about a half) and customs offenses prevail.

The federal court last year also received 340 requests and complaints from citizens throughout the country (and a smaller number from abroad), who complained about the work of a number of organs or courts, demanding intervention to speed up the handling of their cases or to get legal advice.